

THE AMERICAN REVIEW OF REVIEWS

EDITED BY ALBERT SHAW

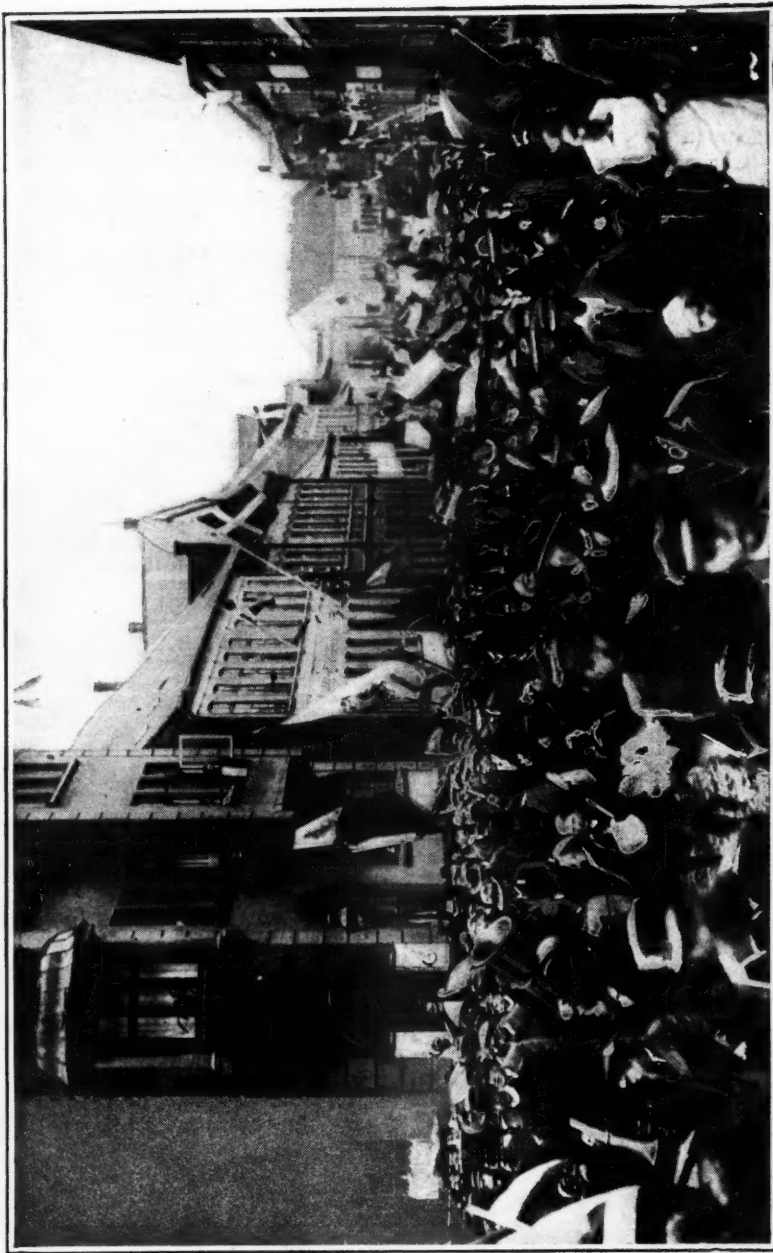
CONTENTS FOR APRIL, 1920

The Plebiscite in Schleswig <i>Frontispiece</i>	The Progress of General Wood's Campaign . 369
The Progress of the World—	BY HON. NORMAN J. GOULD
The "Pall" of Nation-Wide Prohibition... 339	<i>With portrait</i>
War Brought the Dry Victory..... 339	Nicholas Murray Butler on Issues of the Hour 373
Arguments of the War Period..... 340	
No Interval of Indulgence..... 340	The Struggle for Peace 377
Belated Opposition..... 340	BY FRANK H. SIMONDS
Scrapping a Vast Industry..... 341	
Capital Deserts the Outlawed Traffic..... 341	On the Trail of the Yellow-Fever Germ 386
Liquor Forces "Demobilized"..... 341	FROM THE NOTES OF A BYSTANDER
Good Effects of Prohibition..... 341	<i>With portraits and other illustrations</i>
What are "Intoxicating Liquors"?..... 342	The Reconstruction of Railroad Service 393
The Amendment Under Judicial Test..... 342	BY SAMUEL O. DUNN
The Chance of Technical Defects..... 343	
A Curious Precedent..... 343	A World-Wide Railroad System 397
How to Fight Prohibition..... 344	BY JUDSON C. WELLS
It Will Be a Fight Against New Odds..... 344	
Not a Safe Political Issue..... 344	Canada and Railway Nationalization 405
Women Are for Prohibition..... 345	BY SIR PATRICK T. MCGRATH
Women Now Welcomed in Politics..... 345	
Millions Will Certainly Vote This Year.. 346	Constructive Legislation in Canada 408
Women as Party Members..... 346	BY OWEN E. MCGILLICUDDY
Policy for Women Voters..... 347	
The Renewed Treaty Debate..... 347	Forest Preservation in Eastern Mountains ... 411
Article X in a Practical Case..... 348	BY PHILIP W. AYRES
No Power in Words Alone..... 348	<i>With illustrations</i>
Mr. Wilson's Latest Attitude..... 349	
The "Solemn Referendum" Still Desired.. 349	Franklin K. Lane, American 416
In Criticism of the Allies..... 349	BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE
Why France Must Be "Militaristic"..... 350	<i>With portrait</i>
Control of Foreign Affairs..... 351	The Franchise in Japan 420
Secretary Lansing's Retirement..... 351	<i>With illustrations</i>
Wilson's View of the Cabinet..... 351	
What is the "Cabinet"?..... 352	Leading Articles of the Month—
What Type of Man for President?..... 352	Vicissitudes of the German Republic..... 422
Candidates and Tendencies..... 353	Observations in Germany..... 424
Leonard Wood Makes Real Progress..... 353	The Farmer Premier of Ontario..... 425
Other Republican Leaders..... 353	Experiments with the Helicopter..... 426
The Treaty and the Campaign..... 354	The Economics of the Peace Treaty..... 427
Mr. Wilson Dictating to Europe..... 354	The Peace Conference Defended..... 429
Fiume and Its Bearings..... 355	The Problem of Egypt..... 430
France Must Keep on Guard..... 355	Is the Battleship Doomed?..... 431
Turkey and Our Opportunity..... 356	A Possible Solution of the Eastern Question 433
Constantinople and Armenia..... 356	Jealousies over Syria..... 434
Britain's Authority in Near East..... 356	The Siberian Tragedy..... 435
Futile Criticism of British Policy..... 357	To-day's Politics in Italy..... 437
Canada's Noble Record..... 357	The Left Bank of the Rhine..... 438
Political Reaction in Germany..... 358	Adobe Helps Solve the Building Problem 439
Diplomatic Changes..... 358	The Japanese Pottery Industry..... 441
<i>With portraits, cartoons, and other illustrations</i>	A Real Industrial Parliament..... 442
Record of Current Events 359	Western Australia—A Land of Promise... 443
<i>With illustrations</i>	<i>With portraits and other illustrations</i>
Domestic and Foreign Politics in Cartoons .. 363	The New Books 444

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A SCENE IN SCHLESWIG ON OCCASION OF THE POPULAR TEST BETWEEN DANES AND GERMANS

(Gradually, in spite of strife and turmoil, European boundaries are finding permanent adjustment. More than half a century ago Prussia forcibly annexed the provinces of Schleswig and Holstein. North of Schleswig was inhabited by Danes, and they have never been happy since their incorporation with Prussia. It was agreed at the Peace of Vienna that the province of Schleswig should be treated as if it were a part of Denmark. The Danes, however, should have been consulted. The third strip was hopelessly German, and declined to try the popular test. The northernmost strip voted on February 10, casting about 100,000 ballots, three-fourths of which were for Denmark. The second strip voted on March 14, and went more strongly German than the first had gone Danish. This district had formerly been occupied by Danes, but it had become thoroughly Germanized.)

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THE PROGRESS OF THE WORLD

*The "Pall" of
Nation-Wide
Prohibition*

Nation-wide prohibition has gone into effect with astonishing acquiescence; but it has naturally failed as yet to make all men uniformly contented and cheerful. If the people of the United States had been more generally in favor of prohibiting the manufacture and sale of alcoholic drinks, it is obvious enough that we might have had a "dry" country long ago. Practically every State in the Union has for a long time past had laws under which the liquor traffic could have been reduced to the point of extinction if local majorities had so desired. In Northern and Western States, under different plans of local option, rural communities and thousands of villages and small cities had long ago abolished retail liquor selling. Southern States, by the county option system, had become dry throughout most of their areas. From their experience under local-option laws a number of the States had advanced to the trial of State-wide prohibition—some by amending

their constitutions, and others by statutes—all of them upon the basis of popular referendum. Maine had led the way with State-wide prohibition as early as 1851; Kansas had acted in 1879; and Iowa had voted for prohibition in 1882. In States or cities not ready to abolish the liquor traffic, all sorts of regulations had been adopted, including in some cases very high license fees. Even where the liquor business remained lawful the saloon system was in extreme disfavor because its moral and political affiliations were so generally objectionable. It is a delusion to think that the country as a whole regrets the culminating victory of the "drys," and wishes to return to the previous status.

*War Brought
the Dry
Victory*

The drink evil was subject to attack from a number of different standpoints. It was assailed from the standpoint of national economy, as diverting a considerable fraction of the wages paid to labor from wise and commendable uses to a wasteful and harmful use. It was assailed from the standpoint of individual and social morals, as tending to undermine personal health and to degrade communities. It was criticized as promoting lawbreaking and political corruption. Yet the liquor business, beginning with the manufacture and extending to the retail distribution, was so large and powerful an interest—especially when a number of subsidiary industries were included in the aggregate—that nation-wide prohibition seemed an impossibility at least for the present generation. That drinking habits and customs might be further modified, and that the worst evils of the drink traffic might gradually be abated, were about as far as the expectations and hopes of conservative people had extended until two or three years ago. A few large cities like Seattle had made a highly favorable report



FROM NOW ON!

From the *Dispatch* (Columbus, Ohio)

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upon their experience in abolishing the saloon under the State prohibition system; but the existence of liquor in neighboring States, and the possibility of obtaining it for private use though not for sale, afforded a safety-valve, so to speak, as to the unreconciled minority. Doubtless we should have gone along making local and State experiments with drink regulation and gradually tending towards some new standards and modified customs, but for the War.

*Arguments of
the War
Period*

Now that relaxation from the war strain is so general, it is difficult for many people to force their memories and imaginations to recall even for a few minutes the emotional stress that dominated public sentiment in 1917 and 1918. Food had to be produced and saved for our Allies in Europe. Therefore no corn or cereals should be wasted in making whiskey and beer. The draft law took millions of young boys from the safety and shelter of their quiet home neighborhoods. Therefore the sale of intoxicants must be banished from the vicinity of hundreds of encampments and rallying places. We had been told of marvelous transformations in Russia by reason of a ukase of the Czar that magically abolished the besotting use of vodka. This and other reports from Europe pointing to the badness of alcohol in munition-making centers, and the usefulness of drink restriction, played profoundly upon the minds of Americans and led to the almost unchallenged acceptance throughout this country of wartime prohibition under sanction of Congress and by order of the President. It was this atmosphere of intense war feeling, due to the spectacle of young Americans entering the army and navy by the hundreds of thousands, that made possible the passage of the Eighteenth Amendment through Congress by the requisite two-thirds majority in 1917, followed by its remarkably rapid acceptance in more than the requisite three-fourths of the forty-eight States.

*No Interval
of
Indulgence*

The failure of the Senate to ratify the Peace Treaty unexpectedly extended the period of temporary prohibition under the President's wartime order. Thus the brief interval that had been relied upon, to occur between the ending of the wartime prohibition and the beginning of permanent prohibition under the Eighteenth Amendment to the Constitution,

did not offer itself. A vast quantity of whiskey, not to mention other drinks, was in storage and would have been distributed to private purchasers as against the dry days to come, but for the failure of Congress and the President to coöperate in declaring that the demobilization was at an end and the dry order rescinded. The prohibitionists as a rule were opposed to granting this interval of indulgence that the wets were seeking; but doubtless it would have been a more lawful and orderly proceeding if the wartime embargo had been lifted when the conditions which produced it had come to an end. If the expected interval for adjustment had been allowed, it is quite possible that the régime of permanent prohibition under the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act, which began on January 16, 1920, would have been accorded a more undisturbed opportunity to demonstrate its practical usefulness.

*Belated
Opposition*

Although no public movement could well have been more widely advertised and discussed than the triumphant progress of the Eighteenth Amendment, many Americans of responsible standing (chiefly in the Eastern States) have acted during the past few weeks like so many Rip Van Winkles. They have awakened out of lethargy, have discovered the fact of our new prohibitory régime, are excessively indignant, and have been writing letters to the newspapers. Among these exasperated people are not many of the business men whose capital was largely embarked in distilling and brewing, or in the wholesale liquor trade. These men had, of course, expected a brief period for "liquidation." But they had for several years keenly appreciated the fact that the good-will value of their enterprises was rapidly vanishing, and that they must find new uses for their real estate and machinery. Let us do justice to them as citizens of a law-abiding country. They have not wasted their efforts in making futile demands for compensation. They have known that they were engaged in an extra-hazardous business, and have understood how to write off fictitious values and accumulate large depreciation funds. Not all of them were fully prepared to go out of the distilling or brewing business, but to a very great extent they had made wise business plans in view of the inevitable transition. It is not these practical men who are now discussing "personal liberty."

**Scrapping
a Vast
Industry**

Scores of thousands of retail drink shops have within a few months quietly changed their character. Fortunately for their owners, prohibition has come at a time when premises are exceedingly scarce in almost all our towns and cities by reason of the cessation of building activities through the war period. It has been easy to find profitable uses for store-rooms, and the demand for residential quarters was never so intense. Thus we have witnessed a rapid shifting of activities from the business of making and distributing alcoholic drinks to other businesses that deserves a careful and thorough study from the economic point of view. The immediate loss to those whose capital was engaged is doubtless considerable in the aggregate; but it is probably not very large when compared with the amount of capital actually invested. "Good-will," of course, is a kind of value that is hard to reckon with in these calculations. Thus some famous brewing corporations are able to carry a large amount of commercially valuable good-will into the making of non-intoxicating beverages, and other articles carrying names that have local or national repute.

**Capital Deserts
the Outlawed
Traffic**

There have been so many newspaper reports of a continued sale of drinks in violation of law through one device or another that it is necessary to keep in mind the larger facts in order to arrive at just conclusions. The making and sale of liquors had been a great commercial industry, supported by banks, with legal enforcement of contracts, and with its issues of stocks and bonds enjoying full standing. When, however, the United

States stops by law the manufacture and sale of drinks, ending the shipment and export of such commodities and prohibiting the import, capital disappears at once from the support of enterprises that the law courts, the banks and the stock exchanges cease to recognize. There remains only an outlawed, clandestine traffic that can at most amount to a small percentage of the former business. It is true that there are a good many former breweries now making non-intoxicating "near beers" and other "soft" drinks; and these might quickly enough go back to the old formulas if the Volstead Act could be broken down or modified. But with all due allowance, it would seem justifiable to declare that the great commercialized liquor interest has surrendered to the forces of law and government, and has turned its attention to enterprises that are not under the ban.

Furthermore, there are thousands of men, including many that have lost money, who freely confess their satisfaction in being out of a business that came short of public esteem. They admit that it is better for their families, socially and otherwise, to have the liquor business done away with. It has been the experience in prohibition States that, whereas the organized liquor business is politically powerful while in active operation, there is little political power left when the business has been outlawed, capital withdrawn from it, and personal effort diverted to other lines of trade. The politicians, therefore, who are now taking so conspicuous a part in the movement to break down prohibition, should remember that the once well-organized liquor interest, which could not avail to stop the progress of the Eighteenth Amendment, is now so largely demobilized that it cannot be counted upon to renew the battle with much vigor or spirit.

**Good
Effects of
Prohibition**

Visitors from abroad who have recently viewed the industrial conditions now existing in the United States are as a rule profoundly impressed by the results of prohibition as already manifested. In some of our cities we have very large elements of foreign-born population accustomed to the use of alcoholic drinks, especially beer. It is easy to theorize about the hardships to which these people are subjected in obliging them to forego the percentage of alcohol in their wines and beers to which they had been accustomed. As a



"THE UNDESIRABLES"—THE LATEST AMERICAN DEPORTEES

From the *Westminster Gazette* (London)

matter of obvious fact, however, the great majority of these people are adapting themselves to the situation. Those who cannot get along without the habitual use of alcoholic stimulants are few and far between. Disinterested testimony is mainly to the effect that almost any group of people connected with a given industry at a given point are decidedly better off under prohibition than they were before. They and their families have more and better food; they are putting more money in the savings banks; and there is a visible improvement in the average of labor efficiency. When these elements of improvement—reported as evident in particular factories or industrial communities—are considered in the aggregate for the whole country, they constitute an economic argument of impressive weight. The argument for social progress through personal liberty will always make its appeal to many minds. Prohibition is doubtless a very drastic invasion of private liberty, in view of long prevalent habits and customs. Whether or not the great experiment will be accepted as a final policy will depend upon the extent to which the liquor business and drinking habits are regarded by a decided majority of our people as being essentially harmful.

What Are
"Intoxicating
Liquors"?

It was not surprising that various phases of the new situation should be tested in the courts. The national amendment prohibits "intoxicating liquors" but the meaning of this phrase is not definite. The enforcement of the amendment is left to concurrent legislation by Congress and the States. The Volstead act adopted by Congress in order to create a system under which to enforce the prohibitory régime defines intoxicating beverages as those containing more than one-half of one per cent. of alcohol. Individual States are undertaking to make definitions of

their own in order to have the question passed upon by the courts. Thus the legislature of the State of New Jersey last month, under the leadership of Governor Edwards (who was elected last November as a Democratic candidate on a wet platform), passed a bill defining intoxicating beverages as those containing more than 3.50 per cent. of alcohol. There was pending in the New York legislature last month a bill which fixed the percentage of alcohol in beer somewhat in accord with the New Jersey statute, while fixing the alcoholic limit in wines at ten per cent. The movements of this kind in different States relate only to so-called light wines and beers and in no case have to do with whiskeys or other strong distilled liquors. The motive for haste in New Jersey was to bring the question as promptly as possible into the federal courts.

The Amendment
Under
Judicial Test

Meanwhile another phase had already found its way to argument before the Supreme Court at Washington. The State of Rhode Island, acting officially through its Attorney-General, had raised certain questions regarding the validity of the Eighteenth Amendment itself. These questions had to do both with the intrinsic character of the amendment and with technical issues relating to its exact form and to the methods of its adoption. It is more generally held that the amending of a constitution, whether that of the United States itself or of one of the States, must follow with precision the exact course prescribed for making such a change or addition. The Governor and Attorney-General of Rhode Island invited other States to join in attacking the amendment before the Supreme Court, but the invitation was accepted only by Massachusetts and Kentucky. Over against this challenge was the action of the Governor of the State of Maine, who

ARTICLE XVIII (1) *After one year from the ratification of this article the manufacture, sale, or transportation of intoxicating liquors within, the importation thereof into, or the exportation thereof from the United States and all territory subject to the jurisdiction thereof for beverage purposes is hereby prohibited.*

(2) *The Congress and the several States shall have concurrent power to enforce this article by appropriate legislation.*

(3) *This article shall be inoperative unless it shall have been ratified as an amendment to the Constitution by the Legislatures of the several States, as provided in the Constitution, within seven years from the date of the submission hereof to the States by Congress.*

(Readers may find it convenient to refer to the text of the Eighteenth Amendment as given above. The official announcement of its adoption by thirty-six States was made by Secretary Lansing on Jan. 29, 1919. It went into effect on Jan. 16, 1920.)

invited the authorities of other States to join in filing a brief with the Supreme Court defending the prohibition amendment. A group of more than twenty States, under the leadership of the Governor of Maine, united to support the Department of Justice at Washington in defending the statute. Certain private interests affected by the amendment and the Volstead Act retained the Hon. Elihu Root, who was permitted by the Supreme Court to file a brief and join the authorities of Rhode Island, Massachusetts and Kentucky in challenging the amendment.

*The
Fundamental
Question*

As customary when sovereign States appear in the federal courts, the case was expedited and the Supreme Court at Washington heard arguments in the early days of March, concluding on the 10th. The nature and relative importance of the points raised in this legal battle can better be stated when the Supreme Court renders its decision. The questions involved are so far-reaching and of such wide concern that the court will undoubtedly try to hand down its decision within a few weeks, perhaps as early as May 1. The arguments against the amendment were of a twofold nature. Mr. Rice, the Attorney-General of Rhode Island, developed the novel view that the regulation of the liquor traffic could not be made a federal function even by the lawful method of amending the Constitution through the ratification of a proposed amendment by the legislatures of the States. The somewhat obvious answer to this contention is that more than forty State legislatures did not take that view, but ratified the proposed amendment. It is a political, not a judicial question. It was argued by Mr. Rice that, in adopting the Tenth Amendment, it was not intended by Americans who voted 130 years ago that certain functions should be assumed by the central authority. The pertinent question, however, is not what was intended in 1790, but what the people intended who have acted affirmatively in voting upon the Eighteenth Amendment.

*The Chance of
Technical
Defects*

In short, the Constitution expressly provides a method by which just such changes as that produced by the Eighteenth Amendment may be brought about. The Hon. Charles E. Hughes, who was for a number of years a distinguished member of the Supreme Court, filed a brief supporting the Eighteenth



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GOV. EDWARD I. EDWARDS OF NEW JERSEY
(Signing the 3.5 per cent. beer bill on March 2)

Amendment on behalf of twenty-four States. It is always a matter for judicial review whether or not the required procedure has been followed; that is to say, whether in this particular case the Eighteenth Amendment was actually approved by the required two-thirds majorities in Congress (the Senate having acted in August, and the House in December, 1917); and whether the requisite number of States had executed their ratifications in a legal manner. It is a fact of undisputed ordinary knowledge that the two houses of Congress passed the amendment and that more than the required number of States ratified it. It is, however, possible that some technical flaws might be found somewhere in the course of the proceedings.

*A
Curious
Precedent*

Whether or not such technical flaws if discovered should nullify the amendment (and also of course the Volstead Act) is for the Supreme Court to decide. In 1882 the Supreme Court of Iowa nullified a prohibition amendment after it had been adopted and gone into effect, on the ground that a certain record had been omitted by a journal clerk in one of the branches of the legislature. There was no

question as to the passage of the amendment through two successive legislatures and its adoption by decisive vote of the people. But the full record of action by one house had not been made as directed in the clause of the constitution which set forth the procedure to be followed. There was great indignation against the Supreme Court of Iowa at that time on the part of the prohibition leaders. But the court was performing its duty in accordance with its best judgment and intelligence, and it felt itself compelled to treat as mandatory every detail of the process required for making constitutional changes.

*How
to Fight
Prohibition*

There was a considerable movement in the New York legislature at Albany last month on behalf of a State referendum this year on the prohibition question. It was pointed out, however, by Speaker Sweet that such a vote at this time would be futile, if not absurd. The most it could do would be to show whether or not a majority of the people of the State of New York were glad or sorry that national prohibition had been adopted. Speaking politically, there is only one thing for the "wets" to undertake. They have a perfect right to elect as many members of both houses of Congress as they can who entertain their views. When they can muster the requisite two-thirds vote, they can pass through Congress a Twentieth Amendment, rescinding the Eighteenth; and when this Twentieth article has been duly ratified by the legislatures of as many as thirty-six States, they will have restored the control of the liquor business for ordinary purposes to the jurisdiction of the forty-eight States. Recent experience has shown that where people are very much in earnest it does not take a long time to amend the Constitution. Instead of its requiring seven years to secure the ratifications of thirty-six States for the Eighteenth Amendment, it required only a few months.

*It Will Be a
Fight Against
New Odds*

Whenever, therefore, the country is ready to renounce the experiment, there is just one way to proceed, and that way is being pursued by the people in various parts of the country who are proposing to nominate Governor Edwards of New Jersey as a Democratic candidate for the presidency on a wet platform. These people know perfectly that prohibition has been adopted through a political

victory of the dries, and that it can only be done away with through a political victory of the wets. The public should remember, however, that the American movement to outlaw the liquor business is of long standing, and the dries are likely to be better organized for the fight than the wets. A new equilibrium will soon have been established, and many of the forces formerly working for the liquor traffic will now support, passively at least, the changed situation to which they have become adjusted. So the wets will have to make their fight against new odds and with forlorn hopes.

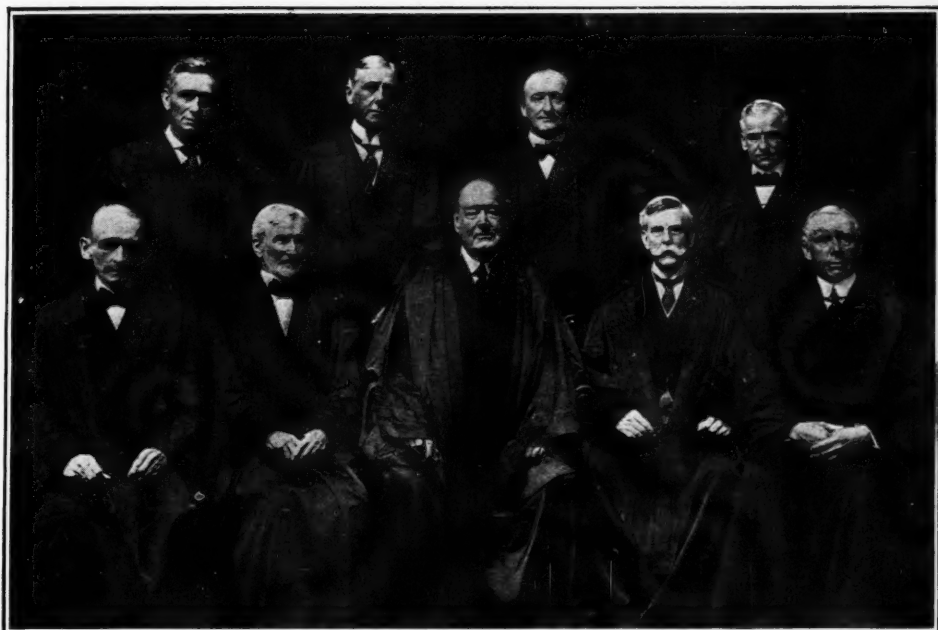
*Not a Safe
Political
Issue*

Many prominent politicians in both parties have been needlessly disturbed by the clamorous activity of the wets during the past few weeks. As a matter of fact, the metropolitan newspapers have so emphasized details pertaining to the transition period—the dismantling of the saloons, and the illicit traffic in surplus stock—as to convey a false impression to many minds. Democrats will do well to understand that the prohibition forces supporting William J. Bryan are very much stronger as a political factor than the liquor forces supporting Governor Edwards. The South is almost solid for prohibition, and the San Francisco Convention will not be stampeded by New Jersey and Kentucky on



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WILLIAM J. BRYAN, AS "LITTLE HANS," STOPPING THE HOLE IN THE DIKE



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THE UNITED STATES SUPREME COURT LAST MONTH DECIDED A LONG PENDING SUIT UNDER THE SHERMAN ACT IN FAVOR OF THE UNITED STATES STEEL CORPORATION, AND ALSO DECIDED THAT RAILWAY VALUATIONS SHOULD PROCEED UPON THE PRINCIPLE OF PRESENT APPRAISALS RATHER THAN ORIGINAL COST. THE COURT HAS NOW BEFORE IT THE TEST CASES AFFECTING THE PROHIBITION AMENDMENT

(Front row, left to right: Justice Day, Justice McKenna, Chief Justice White, Justice Holmes, Justice Van Devanter, Back row, left to right: Justice Brandeis, Justice Pitney, Justice McReynolds, and Justice Clark)

the liquor question. As for the Republicans, it would seem reasonable to say that the great majority wish to give national prohibition a deliberate trial in perfect good faith. Neither party will do well to stake its fate this year upon challenging the Eighteenth Amendment and the Volstead Act.

*Women
Are for
Prohibition*

It is to be remembered that many States have given the franchise to women. Moreover, the action of the West Virginia legislature in ratifying the suffrage Amendment last month, after a hard fight under dramatic circumstances, made it probable that this Nineteenth Amendment would be adopted in time for this year's election of Congress and presidential electors. Thirty-three States had previously ratified, West Virginia making the thirty-fourth; and it was expected that at least two other States would act promptly, and thus secure the success of the amendment. That the votes of women could be very extensively marshalled in support and defense of national prohibition is hardly to be doubted. We will venture the guess that both great party conventions will declare in

favor of giving prohibition a fair trial during the coming four years. As for the battle of percentages, it is evident that this must be fought out in the courts. The amendment refers to "intoxicating liquors" "for beverage purposes." It would seem to be the plain intent of the amendment that Congress rather than the separate States should define intoxicating liquors, inasmuch as the whole object of the amendment is to produce a condition of uniformity. It is for the federal courts, however, to decide in a test case what constitutes intoxicating liquor. A prompt decision of this question will be highly desirable. In common understanding, the Eighteenth Amendment was adopted in general accord with the prohibition laws of many States which had fixed a very small percentage of alcohol in their definitions. Thus the Volstead Act was not regarded as out of line with recognized standards.

*Women Now
Welcomed
In Politics*

The opposition to the suffrage amendment had become purely local in character, most people accepting its adoption as a foregone conclusion. Woman suffrage, like prohibition, had

come forward rapidly upon great waves of wartime sentiment. When the prejudices of the British Parliament yielded and women were given the franchise in time for the last general elections it was morally certain that American opposition would quickly melt away. This was conclusively shown in the State of New York when State-wide suffrage won its victory in November, 1917. Women had made great effort and sacrifice in the war period. It was felt that politics in the new era that lay ahead of us must be more concerned than ever before with problems about which women had convictions. Many political leaders who had not opposed the advance of suffrage by State action, but who did not favor the national amendment, changed their positions. The leaders of both great parties are preparing to make special appeals for the votes of women and are favoring the immediate adoption of the Nineteenth Amendment.

*Millions Will
Certainly Vote
This Year*

The suffrage leaders have been anxiously and earnestly piloting their amendment upon its triumphant progress among the commonwealths. They have persuaded many Governors to call legislatures into special session for insuring early ratification. They have shown excellent capacity for the management of a great political movement. There seems no prospect of the formation on any large scale of a separate women's party to act independently of the Republican and Democratic organizations, either in the contests of the present year or those to follow. It is generally expected that the women of the South will show Democratic affiliations in about the same proportion that men have shown them. Eleven Western States, namely, Wyoming, Colorado, Utah, Idaho, Washington, California, Kansas, Arizona, Oregon, Montana, and Nevada, had already enfranchised women in a period from 1869 to 1914, so that the women of these eleven States took part in the election of four years ago. Even if the Nineteenth Amendment should not have been adopted this year, these eleven States, and also New York, Michigan, Oklahoma, and South Dakota, would exercise equal suffrage next November. With the amendment carried, it will be a public matter of great historical importance that some twenty million women will be entitled to act with a like number of men in making choices this year that are certain to have a deep influence at home and abroad. It is

likely that not less than fifteen million women will actually go to the polls and cast their ballots for Congressmen and presidential electors.

*Women
as Party
Members*

There will be a considerable number of women sitting as delegates or alternates in both great conventions in June. The game of party politics, as men are accustomed to play it, has complications that women at large do not wholly appreciate. The feminine mind is more direct, and is prone to drive at the essential thing. In the realms of life over which they are accustomed to exercise control, women are more conventional than men. In public affairs, on the other hand, men are more the victims of tradition and conventionality than are women. Men are more likely to seek party victory in the political game, while women voters will want to know what it is all about, and what the victory is to accomplish. Women probably will show a more discriminating interest than their masculine relatives in the personality of candidates. They will also make a drive for the essentials of platforms, and will not be very tolerant of evasive platitudes. Undoubtedly the preliminary efforts of party committees already show a tendency to recognize the seriousness of purpose and the mental honesty of great numbers of women voters who are too conscientious to vote party tickets blindly. There will be an immense number of women voters who are wholly unqualified, and who will be ready



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THE SUFFRAGE CLIMBERS NEARING THE TOP
From the *American* (New York)



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THE LEADERS OF THE NATIONAL WOMAN'S PARTY PLANNING FINAL RATIFICATIONS AT THEIR WASHINGTON HEADQUARTERS

(From left to right: Mrs. Lawrence Lewis of Philadelphia, Mrs. Abby Scott Baker, Miss Anita Pollitzer, Miss Alice Paul, chairman, Mrs. Florence Brewer Boeckel, and Miss Mabel Vernon [standing])

to cast their ballots as advised by their men-folk, or as requested by political friends who have something to gain. But it has always been true that a large proportion of men voters are not well qualified to act upon their own initiative. The main difference lies in the fact that men are more disciplined for politics, and that they move more calculably along the grooves of party organization. These factors of uncertainty are puzzling the regular politicians, and encouraging the amateurs.

*Policy for
Women
Voters*

What policies will find the women voters most responsive?

Many of them will try to understand something of the relationship of government to the cost of living, and will support candidates and policies that promise to help restore the normal relationship between income and outgo. It may not be very easy to explain the connection between public thrift and private welfare, but the political parties will have to do their best with that question. Women do not like war, and are not instinctively militaristic; but they can be shown that if peace-loving countries like the United States had been better prepared to denounce and oppose militarism six years ago, or even four years ago, countless lives and incalculable resources would have been saved.

Thus it will be necessary to try to persuade the new women voters to look facts in the face as regards our military and naval policies. While the war was at its height there seemed to be general agreement in this country that after the war there must be a good understanding among the nations that were contending for freedom and justice, and that the principle of force must yield in future to the principle of justice as applied through an association of governments of free peoples. It will not be good politics for either great party to turn away from this noble ideal, either in cynicism or in distrust and impatience. If we were willing to cooperate so extensively in war effort, why should we refuse to cooperate in peace effort? Certainly some millions of women voters will show an interest in this question, if, indeed, as now seems fairly certain, the questions of the peace treaty and the League of Nations will be projected into the campaign.

*The Renewed
Treaty
Debate*

For about half a year it has been steadily growing clearer to the average American citizen that our ratifying the peace treaty ought not to hinge upon the precise phraseology, either of the document in general or of our own reservations. The so-called Covenant of the League of Nations is not like a statute, nor



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MRS. GEORGE BASS OF CHICAGO
(Member of Democratic National Committee)



MRS. JOHN G. SOUTH OF KENTUCKY
(Chairman, Women's Division, Republican Committee)

is it like the constitution of a federal government. It merely provides the tentative framework for an association of governments for certain great and desirable purposes. Much more important than the phraseology which describes this framework must be the spirit of the men who are to control the new mechanism. The delay at Washington was further protracted last month by the President's passionate denunciation of the Senate majority's reservation to Article X. A number of substitutes for this reservation had been drawn, by Republican Senators and also by Democratic. Every one of these substitutes merely says in effect that, when any case arises calling for united action to protect some member of the League, the nature and extent of the action of the United States will have to be determined at the time by Congress. This would have been true, presumably, with or without the reservation.

Article X In a Practical Case

We see no reason to object to the Lodge reservation, and most of the proposed substitutes for it convey the same general meaning. Since we should in any case be the interpreters of our own reservation, it becomes increasingly difficult to follow the President's arguments. Article X will remain in the treaty. The reservation merely affects our own procedure. Mr. Lodge and the Republican majority are willing to ratify the treaty including Article X. They do not repudiate, on behalf of this country, an attitude of interest in ques-

tions that will arise under this particular article. If the treaty is ratified as proposed, our representatives will be present in the Council and Assembly of the League of Nations. Let us suppose that the League had been in existence early in 1914, under the terms of the covenant as now drawn up. The ultimatum to Serbia would instantly have come before the League. Austria would not have been allowed to open hostilities without giving opportunity for the terms of the ultimatum to be considered. Doubtless the Americans in the League organization would have made instant report to the President, who in turn would have laid the situation before Congress. It is wholly probable that Congress would have acted promptly—not to project this country into a war, but to help save Europe from a struggle into which the neutral nations like the United States might afterwards be drawn.

No Power in Words Alone

Even without the Lodge reservation, the American delegates sitting in the League of Nations would not have been authorized to give direct orders to the army and navy of the United States. Neither would the President have been empowered to take war measures, without the support of Congress acting in the particular case. Without going through the formalities of adopting reservations, the countries that have already accepted the League of Nations are in no different position. There is no conceivable way by which,

in a given case in the future, the British forces can act in response to Article X except as the Parliament then in existence provides the ways and means and supports the project. The article is mere words, except as living men give it willing support in practical applications.

*Mr. Wilson's
Latest
Attitude*

The Senate would have adopted the reservations last month, and ratified the treaty by common action of the great majority of Republicans and Democrats alike, but for the opposition of President Wilson. On March 8 the President made a pronouncement which took the form of an extended letter to Senator Hitchcock on this question of Article X. He declared that Article X was the very essence of the whole League of Nations scheme, and that the Lodge reservation cut the heart out of the article. He avowed that he could not look the returned soldiers in the face if he consented to the reservation. The rhetorical manner of his letter was admirable, and it gave agreeable evidence of that return of health and vigor which everyone desires for the President. But the letter did not in any way try to prove or explain the precise point that it was supposed to elucidate. Since the President chose to stake everything upon this fight with the Senate Republicans, the Democrats were put in an embarrassing position. Not one of them seemed to be able to make the President's position clear. Mr. Wilson was content to assert that this reservation "nullified" the treaty, and there to leave it, unexplained.

*Now
Quite Un-
compromising*

We had been informed several months ago that the President would accept Senator Hitchcock's substitute for this Lodge reservation; but his latest mood seems to be that of opposition to all reservations no matter how "mild." The assurance given by the British and French governments that the Lodge resolutions are not objectionable and do not in their opinion "nullify" the treaty would seem to have affected President Wilson in a manner exactly opposite to that which they intended. The Senate, meanwhile, having taken up the treaty for reconsideration, had found the requisite two-thirds majority for several of the amendments, and it was commonly understood that the whole series would have been adopted with some modifications, so that the final responsibility would have rested with the President alone. But

his aggressive interposition gave pause to his Senate supporters. Seemingly the President had gone back to his original proposition that the treaty must be ratified precisely as he brought it from Paris. This, however, was manifestly impossible. Even if Senators of both parties had acted unanimously in adopting the treaty with reservations, the President could refuse to "deposit ratification." The deadlock seemed to be unbreakable.

*The "Solemn
Referendum"
Still Desired*

Several months ago Mr. Wilson had demanded what he called a "solemn referendum" on the treaty, as an issue in the next presidential election. Apparently, then, the Hitchcock letter meant that the President had given up all thought of action on the treaty until after the election next November. Thus a political issue was created of such a nature that the Democrats must support the President or commit party suicide. We have believed most earnestly that the treaty ought to be ratified. Several of the amendments needed modification. Most of the others seemed to be implied in the treaty itself. We have regretted the deadlock because the situation at Washington has not been in any manner a reflex of the attitude of the country as a whole. That an overwhelming majority of those who have considered the question desired ratification and were ready to accept the reservations, has been evident to careful observers.

*In Criticism
of the
Allies*

President Wilson's letter was not only disappointing to Americans who wished to see the treaty ratified, but it was painful to many of our friends abroad because of its disparaging allusions to our recent European Allies. It must be remembered that all of these countries have ratified the treaty as written, including Article X. The President explains that Article X had represented renunciations made by Great Britain, Japan, France, and Italy of "the old pretensions of political conquest and territorial aggrandizement." He then proceeds upon the surprising assumption that the Lodge reservation has already revived all these suppressed ambitions; and he seems to intimate that all four of the countries named have now set forth upon dangerous courses. It is evident that this letter was prepared for international consumption, and its effect abroad has been so marked that it is desirable at



NEITHER IN NOR OUT
From the *Eagle* (Brooklyn, N. Y.)



LANDLUBBER ADVICE
From the *Star* (St. Louis)

this point to quote from it the following paragraph:

It must not be forgotten, Senator, that this article constitutes a renunciation of wrong ambition on the part of powerful nations with whom we were associated in the war. It is by no means certain that without this article any such renunciation will take place. Militaristic ambitions and imperialistic policies are by no means dead, even in the counsels of the nations whom we most trust, and with whom we most desire to be associated in the task of peace. Throughout the sessions of the Conference of Paris it was evident that a militaristic party, under the most influential leadership, was seeking to gain ascendancy in the counsels of France. They were defeated then, but are in control now. The chief arguments advanced in Paris in support of the Italian claims on the Adriatic were strategic arguments—that is to say, military arguments, which had at their back the thought of naval supremacy in that sea. For my own part, I am as intolerant of imperialistic designs on the part of other nations as I was of such designs on the part of Germany.

Since, however, all these nations have accepted Article X and are actually setting forth upon the experiment of operating the League of Nations, the President's line of reasoning is not easy to follow. The Parisian politicians and newspapers were so incensed by Mr. Wilson's accusations that their retorts were unduly rude, although they had ground for resentment. France is not maintaining her great army as a matter of national indul-

Why France
Must be
"Militaristic"

gence and luxury, but from a keen sense of necessity. Until conditions on the Continent of Europe become more stable, France will be compelled to keep up her armies, while the British and Americans have been able to demobilize. Mr. Simonds sets forth these conditions in his discussion of the present struggle to maintain European peace, which our readers will find in this number of the REVIEW. President Wilson confuses his friends and helps his opponents by seeming to blow hot and to blow cold at the same time. He argues for the League of Nations, and chides the United States Senate for not entering the League that these other nations have already united in forming. But in the same breath he accuses these nations specifically and by name of being engaged at this very moment in the furthering of designs that menace the peace of the world for reasons of their own aggrandizement. And thus he encourages the Senate "irreconcilables," who also criticize the policies of our recent Allies, and who therefore oppose the League of Nations. Republican leaders had last month widely adopted the view that President Wilson did not wish to have the treaty ratified before election day in November. Mr. Bryan, on his part, was continuing to urge upon Democratic Senators the acceptance of the reservations. Nothing was standing in the way except the party politics of a presidential year.

**Control
of Foreign
Affairs**

There are large fields of ordinary domestic administration in which the heads of departments function without much interference from the White House. Even so exceptional an executive head as President Roosevelt could not keep track of every detail of government work; and no other recent President has equalled Roosevelt in conversance with details of public business. But when we enter the field of foreign relationships it is perhaps true that no previous President has assumed so exclusively personal a rôle as Mr. Wilson. It is held by many observers that this exercise by the President of the functions of the Secretary of State has weakened the department of foreign affairs in a period when it should have great strength and high prestige. It is commonly remarked by intelligent men that we need the ablest and strongest Secretary of State that can be found, and that the safe conduct of our foreign affairs requires close accord between the President and the Secretary, with full Cabinet support, and with Senate leaders of both parties brought into frequent consultation. In times like these, the conduct of the nation's foreign affairs cannot be safely made a matter of purely personal direction, nor a bone of contention between parties in presidential elections.

**Secretary
Lansing's
Retirement**

A lack of accord led to the retirement of Secretary Lansing in the middle of February. It appeared that the nominal head of the State Department had been out of touch with the President for a long time. During the earlier months of the President's long illness, the so-called Cabinet had met at intervals for the discussion of necessary public business. Everyone had been aware of it, and had regarded these meetings as useful if not indispensable. Mr. Lansing's responsibility for them had not been greater than that of his colleagues who attended them. The President, however, in harsh notes to Mr. Lansing, criticized the calling of these cabinet meetings, and ascribed blame in a manner which was tantamount to a curt dismissal from office. Secretary Lane, who was about to retire of his own volition, publicly declared that he considered himself quite as responsible as Mr. Lansing for the cabinet meetings. Under the parliamentary forms of government which President Wilson has always preferred, it was obvious that all the members of the cabinet would have gone out



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HON. BAINBRIDGE COLBY OF NEW YORK, NOMINATED BY PRESIDENT WILSON ON FEBRUARY 25 TO SUCCEED MR. LANSING AS SECRETARY OF STATE

(Mr. Colby is a New York lawyer distinguished for his ability as a public speaker, and highly esteemed for his sincerity of character. He had recently served under the Wilson administration on the Shipping Board. In politics he had been a Republican, then a Roosevelt Progressive, and in 1916 he refused to support Hughes and gave his adherence to the Wilson ticket. There was delay in the Senate over his confirmation, but approval was confidently expected by his friends. The appointment was received with surprise in all quarters, the country having expected the appointment of the Acting Secretary, Mr. Polk)

with Mr. Lansing. But as a matter of fact we have no real cabinet in this country, and everybody knew that the criticized cabinet meetings were wholly incidental and of only casual importance. The other secretaries remained at their posts because their work was not under criticism by the chief executive.

**Wilson's View
of the
Cabinet**

It was not on account of the cabinet meetings, but because of other things, that Mr. Lansing was retired—all of which Mr. Wilson made quite plain in his letter of February 11. Mr. Lansing was asked to withdraw and afford the President "an opportunity to select some one whose mind would more willingly go along with" Mr. Wilson's. It would be quite useless to review Mr. Lansing's conscientious public career in order to discover specific differences between him and the

President. To a considerable extent the difficulty was temperamental. Chiefly, however, it was all due to President Wilson's idea of our executive system. He does not conceive of policy or statesmanship as pertaining to the Department of State, but only of technical skill and efficiency in carrying out the plans and policies of the President and in helping to give practical effect to the President's statesmanship. Our remarks imply no criticism either of the President or of Mr. Lansing. The episode illustrates the amazing flexibility of our form of government in its actual working, due to the personal equation. Under any form of government, personal influence and natural power of leadership produce variations. But no other well-established government has an office which may be so magnified or so diminished in accordance with the qualities of the incumbent as our presidency.

What is the "Cabinet"? The Cabinet at Washington has no existence or authority, except as the President chooses to take counsel with the heads of the departments, and call them by this collective name. It has been the prevailing custom for Presidents to play up the heads of departments, somewhat after the fashion of a European cabinet. When John Quincy Adams, Daniel Webster, Henry Clay, and James G. Blaine were secretaries of state, they were not under the discipline of the milder and weaker men who lived in the White House. Many citizens have been asking of late whether there is any practicable way by which a real

cabinet may be brought into legal existence, without destroying what may be of value in the President's authority. During the war period Mr. Wilson used the heads of new boards and commissions, rather than the permanent heads of departments, for purposes analogous to those of a cabinet. But all this of course was temporary and informal. These questions lie in the public mind rather as affecting the future than the present. Are Presidents to be dictators?

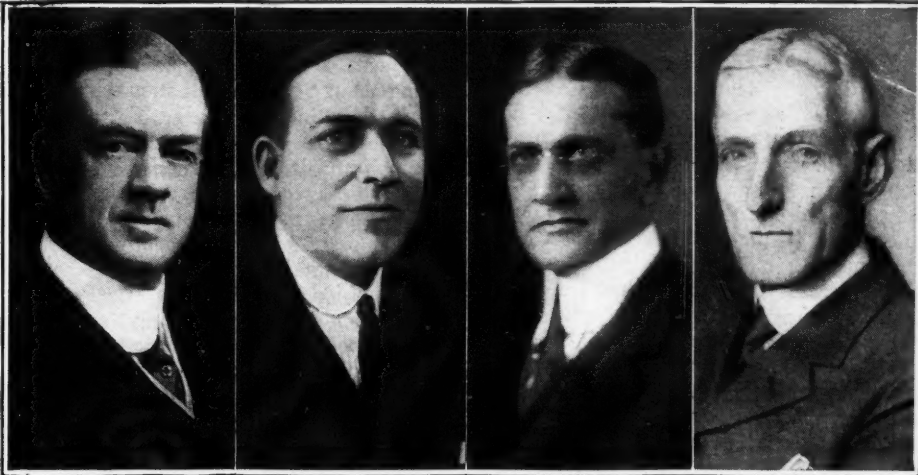
What Type of Man for President?

One trend of thought and feeling in the country is evidently in favor of finding for our next President a personal ruler. There may of course be a very marked difference between a man of arbitrary temper and one of decisive mind and strong personality. Mr. Roosevelt, for example, paid the utmost deference to his department heads as a real cabinet; consulted them constantly about general policies, domestic and foreign; and sought the strongest men he could find, regarding them as colleagues rather than as subordinates. Mr. Roosevelt was a leader, but when in office he almost always acted upon a basis of collective judgment, either that of his party or that of recognized experts. Mr. Wilson has worked in more detachment. He has assumed the rulership as well as the leadership of his party. But he has relied upon the essential qualities of American public opinion as likely in the long run to support an uncompromising President who follows the dictates of high principles with steadfast courage. Senator Kenyon proposes that presidential nominees should select and publicly announce the cabinet officers they mean to appoint, at some date previous to the election. The idea is novel, and it will not be adopted. But the proposal calls attention to the peculiar position of the cabinet in our system. Those who do not prefer for the next President a personal ruler are divided into two classes. First are those who want a business executive who will run the country as Judge Gary runs the United States Steel Corporation. Congress would frame its own legislation, but the executive would carry on public business efficiently. The other class would prefer a President of intelligence and poise, and capable of surrounding himself with men of capacity and party standing, working in agreeable accord with Congress—the kind of President typified by Mr. McKinley.



SECRETARY FRANKLIN K. LANE

From the *Sunday Star* (Washington, D. C.)
[Secretary Lane's retirement from the Interior Department evoked expressions of good will on all sides. We present in this number an interview with Mr. Lane obtained especially for our readers. His birth in Canada alone prevents his being urged as a presidential candidate.]



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HON. FRANK HITCHCOCK
OF NEW YORKHON. NORMAN J. GOULD
OF NEW YORKSENATOR MOSES
OF NEW HAMPSHIRECOL. WILLIAM C. PROCTER
OF OHIO

FOUR ORGANIZING LEADERS AND DIRECTORS OF THE LEONARD WOOD LEAGUE

*Candidates
and
Tendencies*

As we enter the period of presidential primaries, party activities increase and the voters begin to take part in the discussion about candidates. President Wilson's attitude was continuing to restrain the activities of Democratic party leaders, but the plain voters were beginning to express their preferences. Secretary Palmer and Mr. McAdoo were recognized as Democratic candidates, as were Champ Clark, Governor Cox and several Senators. The Hoover movement in the Democratic camp had been followed by some indications of a Hoover movement on the Republican side. Mr. Hoover's own expressions had located him as a receptive but not an active candidate, and as a "progressive independent" who was as far removed from "Republican reactionaries" as from "Democratic radicals." These utterances seemed to please Mr. Hoover's friends and followers, but did not tend to smooth the way either to Chicago or to San Francisco. It is evident that nothing but a stubborn deadlock could give Hoover the Republican nomination; while it also seems likely that Mr. Bryan and the Democratic two-thirds rule could block the Hoover movement at San Francisco.

*Leonard Wood
Makes Real
Progress*

Meanwhile the candidacy of General Leonard Wood has seemingly been making progress that will have been accentuated by the early Republican primaries. Thus the New

Hampshire Republicans on March 9 gave as strong a support to General Wood as had been expected. In New York the "Leonard Wood League" is not entering the primaries to choose its own delegates to the convention; but it claims large support in New York and Illinois, and it proposes to contest Ohio with the supporters of Senator Harding. We are publishing in this number an article upon the development of General Wood as a candidate, and the methods employed, this article being written at our request by the Hon. Norman J. Gould, who is directing from New York City the eastern activities of the Wood League. Colonel William C. Procter of Cincinnati is at the head of the national Wood movement, and last month Mr. Frank Hitchcock joined Colonel Procter to give the benefit of his experience and prestige in winning delegates and handling conventions.

*Other
Republican
Leaders*

In strength of organization the movement for Governor Lowden of Illinois is second to that of General Wood, although the candidacy of Senator Hiram Johnson of California has secured a large following which seems to be taking organized shape. A number of names of possible candidates are mentioned, but behind most of them there is no attempt at extensive organization. We made note last month of the candidacy of Dr. Nicholas Murray Butler of New York, and we are publishing in this number an article which

quotes from his recent significant utterances upon public questions. Dr. Butler was the principal author of the platform unanimously adopted by the Republican State Convention of New York on February 20. Mr. Elihu Root made an address before that convention which will stand as one of the foremost Republican statements of the present year. Mr. Root declined to accept designation as one of the delegates at large to the Chicago convention. This declination was due to the important fact that he has accepted an invitation from the European governments to go abroad as one of the eminent jurists who will recommend to the League of Nations a working plan for the international court of judicature that is to be erected as a result of the establishment of the League.

Former
Cleavages
Forgotten

The old sectional breach between leading politicians of the Roosevelt forces and those who surrounded Mr. Taft would seem to have disappeared. Most of the former Roosevelt men of the East seem to be supporting General Wood, while many of those in the West are for Hiram Johnson, and some of them for Poindexter. Several members of Mr. Taft's cabinet are openly supporting Leonard Wood. In the Middle West these old distinctions seem to be little recognized, Republicans supporting one candidate or another according to their predilections, whether Wood, Lowden, Harding, or some other favorite son. Ohio will be strongly contested. Kansas would go sweepingly for Governor Henry Allen if he were a candidate instead of being a Vice President of the Leonard Wood League. Governor Allen last month spent some days in the East, where he addressed the legislatures of Massachusetts, New York, and New Jersey. He added hosts of new friends to his old admirers who have long recognized in him one of the most sensible as well as virile and courageous of our public men. His Industrial Relations Court, about which we published an article in the REVIEW last month, has begun business most auspiciously, and the whole country is now studying its principles and awaiting its practical results.

The Treaty
and the
Campaign

The platform views of the different candidates have attracted renewed attention by reason of the increasing likelihood that foreign policies will be projected into the campaign. With the exception perhaps of Senator Hiram Johnson, all of the leading Republican can-

didates are clearly in favor of the treaty and the League of Nations, with reservations. President Wilson has apparently sought to bring about a political situation which would array those in favor of the Treaty and the League on the Democratic side, and put the Republicans in the position of having defeated the Treaty and of being hostile to an efficient international organization for maintaining peace. The President's party, however, has not helped much to produce any such division of sentiment. The President's attempted leadership, not only in American foreign policy but in the settlement of European and world affairs, has been almost as fully detached from relationship to the Democratic party as from the advice and support of Republican leaders.

Mr. Wilson
Dictating to
Europe

At the time of the armistice the President's prestige was high at home and abroad; and it would have been possible to have employed such methods, in negotiating the treaty and in dealing with European governments, as to have secured for our foreign policies the general support of public opinion here at home, regardless of parties. It had become clear, however, last month that the President was working in such isolation as to cause anxiety in Democratic as well as Republican camps. Thus, in the absence of the United States from the Supreme Council, the Adriatic question had been reopened in a manner that



BEAUTY AND THE BEASTS
From the Newspaper Enterprise Association
(Cleveland, Ohio)

did not accord with arrangements in which Mr. Wilson had previously taken part. In February the President broke silence by dispatching to Europe notes on the Adriatic question of such challenging attack upon the new proposals as to produce no little excitement and confusion, especially in Italy. President Wilson's denunciations were irritating, although his arguments had some value. He threatened to withdraw the treaty from the Senate and to take no further part in European reconstruction, whether military, financial or political, unless his views about Fiume and the Dalmatian coast should be respected.

Fiume and Its Bearings

It may indeed prove to be the case that the Wilson notes will have helped to compel Italy and Yugoslavia to work out a solution for themselves. Nothing could be more feasible than a friendly mutual agreement, but for inflamed passions and ambitions on both sides. Both Italy and Yugoslavia made great sacrifices in the war, and both have secured great gains in the territorial adjustments worked out at the Paris Conference. The differences of detail pertaining to Fiume, the Dalmatian coast and islands, and spheres of influence in Albania, ought to be adjusted by the governments immediately concerned. Perhaps Mr. Wilson's tenacity and his eloquent warnings will have helped to precipitate a final compromise; but he would accomplish vastly more for Europe and the world if he

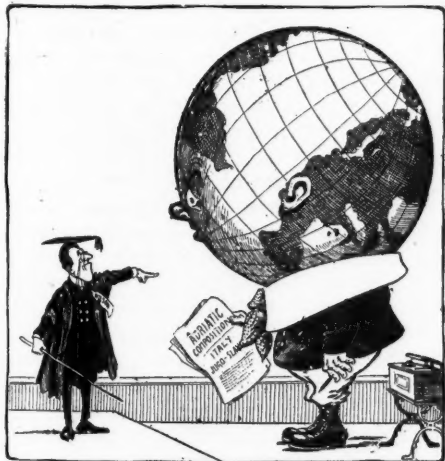


KEEPING THE OLD NAME
From the *World* (New York)

would but permit the treaty to be ratified, accepting the Senate's work, and recognizing the fact that such acceptance on his part would win for him an overwhelming approval on the part of thousands of men and women whose judgments carry weight throughout this country. It would be a calamity to inject our foreign policies into a presidential campaign as the chief bone of partisan contention.

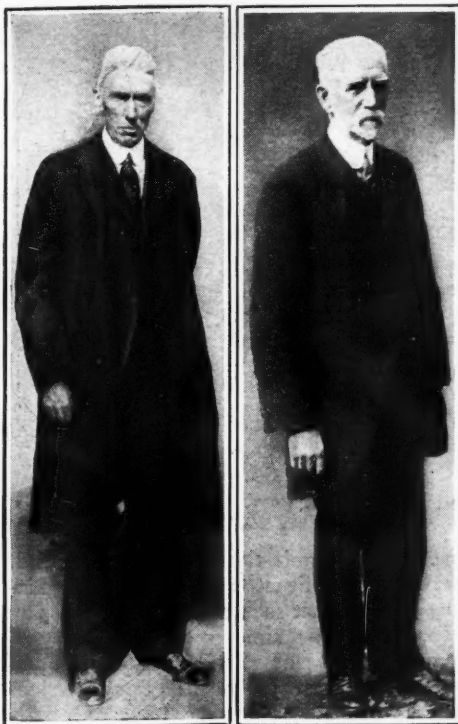
France Must Keep on Guard

Unquestionably the failure of the United States to ratify the treaty promptly, and to take a confident part in the setting up of the League of Nations, has added to the difficulties and perplexities of Europe. There would in any case have been great turmoil due to the exhaustion of the war, so that it would be grotesquely unfair to hold America chiefly responsible for conditions abroad. Even with the treaty ratified, and the separate pact pledging support to France adopted, it is plain enough that safety would have required France to keep up a large army for some time to come. Thus the best answer to President Wilson's critical allusions to French militaristic policies was given a few days later by the revolution in Germany and the reassertion of the Prussian Junkers. General Foch must keep his armies in being, until there is less menace in Germany and Russia. The sensational seizure of government control by the Berlin militarists on March 13 prompted General Foch to move additional French divisions to the Rhine frontier.



THE LITTLE PEDAGOG

"Your Adriatic lesson is not satisfactory to me! Go back and study it at once or take the consequences!"
From the *Daily Star* (Montreal, Canada)



CLEVELAND H. DODGE DR. JAMES L. BARTON
(The two foremost leaders of the great American work for relief in the Near East, especially among Armenians)

*Turkey
and Our
Opportunity*

The long delay in making essential decisions about Turkey has been unfortunate in the extreme. If the United States had been prepared to give helpful advice fully a year ago, much suffering might have been averted. It was quite as essential that the old Turkish rule should have been swept away, as that the militaristic rule of Hohenzollerns and Hapsburgs should be struck down. Delay and hesitation have given the Turks their opportunity for asserting themselves again, and the second thought of the British and French governments has been more timorous than resolute. It is partly the fault of America that a new order of things throughout the Turkish Empire was not promptly established after the armistice. Things being as they are, it is necessary to proceed along the line of realities rather than to chase after fugitive hopes and ideals. The insolence of the Turks had gone so far last month, with massacres of Armenians and general defiance of British, French, and other Allied agencies, that there was some revival of demand for real solutions as against bad compromises.

*Constantinople
and
Armenia*

It is at least certain that no Turkish government will have anything further to say about the freedom of the Dardanelles and the Bosphorus. If the Sultan is allowed a nominal authority in Constantinople by reason of his relationship to the Mohammedan world, he will be under restraint. But Constantinople should be internationalized under a non-Turkish government, to the headship of which an experienced American might well be appointed. Such a government should exercise at least temporary authority over the reconstruction of the Turkish part of Asia Minor. It is now the general American view that there should be created a large, rather than a restricted, independent Armenia. Once recognized and given moderate financial support, Armenia could stand alone. A man like General Harbord, with a few hundred American volunteer officers who could be secured to an unlimited extent, would be able on short notice to organize an effective military constabulary, using native material altogether except for the higher officers. The United States Government could readily send a few shiploads of rifles, machine guns, ammunition and other requisite material as a gift or a loan to the new Armenian Republic. Practical friendliness of this kind would not be very burdensome or costly, nor would it involve the United States in war. It would give the final crowning to a great work of charity that Americans have carried on at the hands of the Committee for Armenian and Syrian Relief, now known as the Near East Relief. This committee last month made an appeal for funds, and secured many millions of dollars with which to continue its pressing work of feeding the hungry and relieving the sick, especially the children.

*Britain's
Authority in
Near East*

In view of actual conditions in the Orient, nothing could have been more ill-timed or reckless than criticisms that have recently been circulated in the United States regarding the activities of Great Britain along the pathway to India. The withdrawal of British support of justice and progress in Egypt would be a calamity too serious for contemplation. No country can exercise the functions of guardianship and tutelage in another country without making some mistakes; but men who see the whole situation wisely are not attacking the British régime in Egypt. There has been criticism, to which

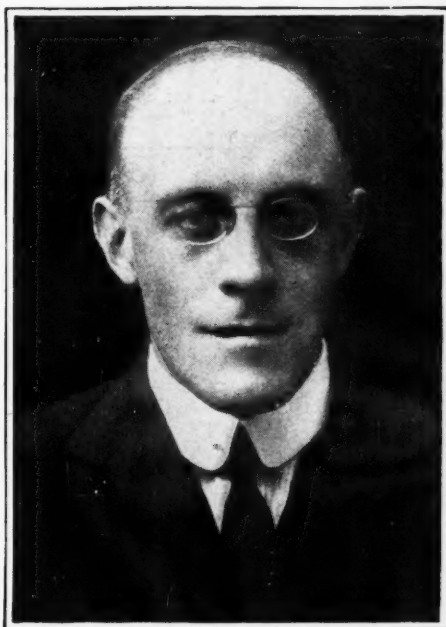
we have referred in recent numbers, of the circumstances under which the new treaty between Great Britain and Persia was negotiated. But here again, to Arabs and Persians the coming of the British means a higher degree of security and a larger measure of justice for native populations than could otherwise have been possible under existing conditions. American opinion should not be warped and twisted by irresponsible mischief-makers in times like these. The arrival of the British at Bagdad in the war period brought relief that the natives welcomed with boundless gratitude; and the British influence is destined to remain in Mesopotamia, as far better than any practicable alternative. All well-informed persons know how beneficial the presence of the British has been in Palestine since their expulsion of the Turks.

Futile Criticism of British Policy

We shall not enter upon a discussion here of questions relating to India, except to remark that capable and responsible native leaders have been coöperating with the British authorities, during and since the war period, in measures that add to the dignity of the Indian peoples without endangering their domestic peace and their steady, even if slow, economic and social progress. It is not merely offensive, but it is quite ridiculous for Americans to imagine that they could deal with the problems of Empire in India more intelligently or more conscientiously than the people of Great Britain are endeavoring to deal with them. Fortunately, not many Americans are bothering themselves with these futilities of criticism. British responsibility has been greatly extended as a result of the war. But the choice lay between an extension of British order and justice, and a relapse into chaos. When the world can find some better way to administer backward or barbarous regions, doubtless our British friends will be glad to aid in supporting an improved system.

Naval Accord Necessary

Meanwhile we ought to be glad that the British fleets are patrolling the oceans, and that—however much disturbance there may be upon the continent of Europe and throughout Asia Minor—there will be entire safety for the merchant vessels of all nations. With statesmanship and common sense in control of governments, we should count upon as genuine coöperation between the American and



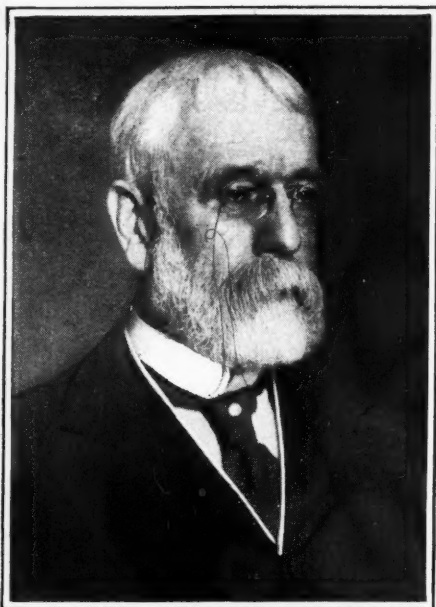
RT. HON. SIR AUCKLAND CAMPBELL GEDDES, NEWLY APPOINTED BRITISH AMBASSADOR TO THE UNITED STATES

(Sir Auckland, who is still a young man, having been born in 1879, was a distinguished Professor of Anatomy in Edinburgh, Dublin, and Canada before the war. He and his brother, Sir Eric Geddes, have filled a number of the most important posts in the war period. His wife is an American)

British navies henceforth as we all praised so highly in 1917 and 1918. Mr. Simonds, in his very frank discussion of European policy in the present number of the REVIEW, points out some divergencies between British and French aims. "The United States should help to keep these great powers working in harmony. America can afford to deal generously with these promoters and guarantors of modern civilization, the people of Great Britain and the people of France.

Canada's Noble Record

Our closest neighbor and most intimate associate in the family of nations is the Dominion of Canada. No object of American policy should be more prominent than that of coöperation between the two halves of the North American Continent. We have pleasure in publishing in this number a remarkable statement by Mr. McGillicuddy of the *Toronto Star* showing the great achievements of Canadian legislation since the end of the war. No other country can make so good a relative showing in the reconstruction



MR. ROBERT UNDERWOOD JOHNSON OF NEW YORK
(New American Ambassador to Italy)

period as Canada. This has been due, Mr. McGillicuddy believes, to the continuance of Coalition government as against the frictions and deadlocks of the ordinary party system. The Coalition leaders, under the guidance of Sir Robert Borden, have laid out a bold program, and have had the courage to write it on the statute books. Our long-time friend and correspondent, Sir Patrick McGrath, who is now President of the Newfoundland Senate, writes for this number an article on the nationalization of Canadian railroads that will be read with particular interest in the United States at this moment. Without any desire to weaken the bonds of association between Canada and Great Britain, all broad-minded Americans should welcome Canada as a member of the League of Nations, should advocate permanent Canadian representation at Washington, and should join in asking Canada to take a seat at the council table of the Pan-American Union. Meanwhile, the expected arrival of Sir Auckland Geddes as British Ambassador at Washington will make for agreeable relations, inasmuch as he has not only been a remarkably effective member of the British War Ministry, but has also connections of a personal and family kind with Canada and with the United States. He is an eminent

physician, and had tentatively accepted the principalship of McGill University at Montreal. It is to be hoped and expected that he will achieve at Washington as marked a success as is credited to the Hon. John W. Davis, the tactful and eloquent American Ambassador at London.

*Political
Reaction in
Germany*

Reference will be found in Mr. Simonds' article (see page 385) to the political *coup d'état* of March 13 at Berlin. Germany was not in the mood for a civil war, and the militarist attack upon the Ebert-Noske government was met by the call of a general strike. This movement of working men was beyond the control of the new Chancellor, von Kapp, and of General Baron von Luttwitz, who was the new militarist Defense Minister in place of Noske. After a day or two it was announced that President Ebert would be left in office, that a new Reichstag would soon be elected, and that an "Imperial President" would be chosen in the near future by popular vote. It was by no means certain, however, that these compromises would be accepted and lived up to as a program for the coming months. That the reactionary forces are endeavoring to secure control in Germany, and that they are planning to establish economic relations with Russia, is now well understood.

*Diplomatic
Changes*

After a long and useful service as American Ambassador at Rome, Mr. Thomas Nelson Page has retired, and several weeks ago President Wilson appointed Mr. Robert Underwood Johnson, of New York, to succeed him. Mr. Johnson was formerly editor of the *Century Magazine*, and has always shown a sympathetic interest in Italy and the Italian people. Following the resignation of Dr. Reinsch as Ambassador to China, President Wilson last month nominated Mr. Charles R. Crane, of Chicago and New York. This post had been tendered to Mr. Crane by President Wilson a number of years ago, but at that time Mr. Crane's business affairs prevented his acceptance. He has long been a recognized authority upon conditions in Russia, China, and Japan, and was selected by Mr. Taft in 1909 for the Chinese post, the appointment being promptly ratified. He resigned, however, because of some disagreement with Secretary Knox. Mr. Crane's reappointment is praiseworthy.

RECORD OF CURRENT EVENTS

(From February 13 to March 15, 1920)

PROCEEDINGS IN CONGRESS

February 13.—In the Senate, Mr. Hitchcock (Dem., Neb.) offers alternative compromise reservations on Article X of the Peace Treaty, claiming that forty Senators will support the one the Republicans accept; the proposal is later rejected.

February 18.—The House Appropriations Committee reports the Legislative, Executive, and Judicial appropriation bill, carrying \$104,120,000.

February 20.—In the House, the Military Affairs Committee votes 11 to 9 in favor of postponing universal-military-training legislation.

February 21.—The House adopts the conference report on the Cummins-Esch railroad bill, by vote of 250 to 150, over the protests of labor and farmers.

February 23.—The Senate, by vote of 47 to 17, adopts the conference report on the railroad-reorganization bill.

February 25.—In the House, Mr. Igoe (Dem., Mo.) moves to repeal the Volstead prohibition enforcement law, but is defeated 80 to 39.

February 26.—The Senate adopts the Lodge "mandate" reservation to the Peace Treaty, by vote of 68 to 4.

March 3.—The Senate adopts two of the Lodge reservations, the one relating to domestic questions and that referring to the Monroe Doctrine.

March 4.—The Senate, by vote of 48 to 21, adopts an amended Lodge reservation on Shantung; the Walsh reservation on American representation is also adopted, 55 to 14.

In the House, Mr. Tinkham (Rep., Mass.) offers a resolution to investigate the fixing of sugar prices; adopted, 162 to 142. . . . Mr. Eagan's (Dem., N. J.) motion to repeal the Volstead Act is defeated.

March 5.—The Senate adopts the Lodge reservation on the Reparations Commission, voting 41 to 22 after refusing a substitute.

March 7.—In the Senate, Mr. Hitchcock makes public a letter from President Wilson, which declares that the proposed reservations are "nullifications."

March 9.—The Senate adopts the Lenroot reservation (modified by Mr. Lodge), the purpose of which is to give the United States equality of voting power in the League of Nations.

March 12.—In the Senate, Mr. Lodge (Rep., Mass.) offers a new compromise reservation on Article X.

The House provides for Construction Corps under the Army bill, separate from Quartermaster Department.

March 15.—In the Senate, the Republican members (with one exception) and sixteen Democrats adopt the famous Lodge reservation on Article X—which President Wilson declared cut the heart out of the League of Nations covenant.

AMERICAN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 13.—Robert Lansing resigns the office of Secretary of State, following correspondence with President Wilson, who charges him with usurping executive power by calling Cabinet meetings during the President's illness.

The fifty-first annual convention of the National American Woman Suffrage Association opens at Chicago, with demand upon State Governors for prompt ratification of the federal woman-suffrage amendment.

February 14.—Missouri Democrats elect Capt. J. L. Milligan to Congress from the Third District, on a platform endorsing League of Nations.

February 17.—The federal woman suffrage amendment is rejected by both branches of the Maryland legislature.

February 18.—The Mississippi legislature rejects the federal woman-suffrage amendment.

February 19.—The Republican party announces that it will not accept campaign contributions of more than \$1,000.

The American Legion demands legislation offering ex-soldiers the option of "land settlement, home aid, vocational training, or an adjustment of compensation."

Grosvenor B. Clarkson submits his resignation as Director of Council for National Defense.

The sale of former German ships by the Shipping-Board is halted by a temporary injunction of the District of Columbia Supreme Court, in a taxpayer's action.

February 21.—First Census returns show 10.3 per cent. increase in population of Cincinnati (now 401,158) and 32.1 per cent. in Washington, D. C. (now 437,414), as compared with 1910.

February 28.—President Wilson signs the railroad reorganization bill.

The Oklahoma legislature completes ratification of the federal woman-suffrage amendment; three more State ratifications are required to complete the thirty-six.

March 1.—American railroads are turned back by the Government to private operation, under the railroad reorganization bill.

United States Supreme Court [Brandeis and McReynolds not sitting] decides 4 to 3 not to dissolve the United States Steel Corporation. . . .

The income tax law of New York is held to discriminate against non-residents; in the Oklahoma case it is held that a State may tax the income of non-residents, if derived from property within the taxing State.

March 2.—Governor Edwards of New Jersey signs the new beer bill, permitting manufacture and sale of 3.5 per cent. beer when the war is officially over.

Governor Hart of Washington calls a special session of the legislature to consider federal woman-suffrage amendment and other questions.

March 3.—The West Virginia House votes 47 to 40 for federal woman-suffrage amendment ratification.

March 4.—New Jersey files a suit in the federal Supreme Court to declare null and void the Eighteenth [prohibition] Amendment, on constitutional grounds.

March 6.—The Delaware legislature is called in special session by Governor Townsend, to consider ratification of federal woman suffrage amendment.

The Philippine Assembly in both houses defeats prohibition and woman suffrage bills; lease titles are granted to 17 Japanese corporations.

March 8.—The United States Supreme Court decides that stock dividends are not taxable as income; the loss to the Government is estimated at \$100,000,000.

March 9.—Prohibition nullification arguments are completed in the Rhode Island and Massachusetts cases before the Supreme Court.

The New Jersey motion for a temporary injunction against prohibition enforcement, in a suit before the U. S. District Court, is denied.

In the New Hampshire Presidential preference primaries the Republicans endorse delegates pledged to Leonard Wood and the Democrats endorse those favoring Herbert Hoover.

March 10.—Secretary Houston announces his policy of postponing Allied loan interest payments for three years, with no further issue of foreign loans or domestic bonds.

West Virginia Senate ratifies the federal woman-suffrage amendment, 16 to 13, under dramatic circumstances.

March 11.—An Indianapolis federal grand jury indicts 125 coal operators and miners for conspiracy.

The Coal Commission submits two reports, the majority favoring 25 per cent. wage increase with no change in hours or working conditions, allowing net additional increase of 11 per cent.

March 13.—Seven I. W. W.'s are convicted of murder for killing war veterans at Centralia; three are acquitted, one insane.

Col W. B. Greeley is appointed Chief Forester, succeeding Henry S. Graves.

March 15.—The Minnesota Republican primary results in expressed preference for Leonard Wood.

FOREIGN POLITICS AND GOVERNMENT

February 7.—Social Revolutionists at Irkutsk, Siberia, kill Admiral Alexander B. Kolchak, former head of the All-Russia Government.

February 14.—Japanese suffrage debate in the Lower House reaches a climax with riotous demonstrations; the President intervenes.

February 17.—The French Senate begins the trial of Joseph Caillaux, former Premier, before its High Court, for treason.

Italy reestablishes rationing under food cards owing to high exchange rate, poor transport, and scarcity of supplies.

February 18.—Paul Deschanel takes office as tenth President of France, succeeding Raymond Poincaré.

February 19.—In China, Foreign Minister Lou Tseng-Tsiang and Vice Foreign Minister Chen-Lu resign in protest against the conservative poli-

icy of the Anfu party in Peking for direct negotiations with Japan over Shantung.

Bolshevist forces occupy Archangel, unopposed.

February 21.—The Hungarian Assembly names Admiral Horthy as Regent.

The Spanish Ministry resigns, following failure to secure passage of appropriations and increased railroad rates, but Manuel Allende Salazar retains the post of Prime Minister.

February 23.—Murmansk is taken by the Bolsheviks, thus consolidating all northern Russia for the Soviets.

February 24.—Mathias Erzberger resigns as Minister of Finance in Germany after sensational testimony in his libel suit against Dr. Karl Helfferich.

February 25.—Herbert H. Asquith (Liberal) is elected to the British House of Commons from Paisley, with 14,736 votes; Labor polling 11,902 and Coalition-Unionists only 3,795.

The Irish Home Rule bill is presented to Commons in its formal first reading.

February 26.—Premier Lloyd George defends Turkish treaty terms before the House of Commons.

February 27.—A French railroad strike ties up three of the five Paris lines and results in a call for a general railway strike; the Premier issues an order calling the strikers into the army.

British Government makes public the new Irish Home Rule bill, providing autonomous government under a dual parliament.

February 28.—Fiume is blockaded by Italy; the city starves, and troops desert D'Annunzio.

The Greek Chamber ratifies the German, Austrian, and Bulgarian peace treaties.

The Japanese Diet is dissolved by the Emperor because of serious disagreement between the Cabinet and the majority parties regarding manhood suffrage extension; a new election must be held in five months (see page 420).

March 1.—The French railway strike ends; the adjustment provides no pay for time on strike, no penalties for disobeying return order, and a review of all other punishments.

French Socialists, at the national congress in Strasbourg, defeat 2 to 1 a motion to ally that body with Soviet Russia.

March 2.—Schleswig-Holstein proclaims independence from Prussia and its establishment as a separate state.

Chinese Premier Chin Yun P'eng resigns office, because of the military party's insistence on negotiations over Shantung with Japan.

March 5.—Portugal closes its frontiers because of serious disorders resulting from railway and postal strikes.

March 6.—Portuguese cabinet resigns; Antonio Silva heads a new cabinet.

March 7.—A Chinese provincial league is formed by Fukien, Kiangsu, Chihli, Honan, Szechwan, Hupeh, Shantung and Kiangsi, to oust both North and South governments and restore peace by uniting against militarists.

March 10.—Ulster votes to accept the Home Rule bill.

Bolshevik troops on Polish front are reported in mutiny.

March 11.—The Syrian Congress at Damascus proclaims national independence under Prince Feisal, son of King of Hedjaz.

Lord Curzon explains to House of Lords that Turkish treaty troubles arise from delay in ratification by the United States. . . . France officially protests President Wilson's charge of militarism.

British labor votes 3,370,000 to 1,050,000 for political rather than direct action, rejecting the miners' program for nationalization.

March 13.—A counter-revolution in Germany, by militarists, directed against the revolutionary republican government of President Ebert, gains control of Berlin; Wolfgang Kapp proclaims himself Chancellor, and Ebert leaves the capital.

March 15.—The revolutionary movement in Germany is reported to be losing ground, and even to have opened negotiations with President Ebert, who has reestablished his government at Stuttgart.

INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS

February 13.—The Council of the League of Nations admits Switzerland as an original member [with neutrality reservations] of the League; a Sarre Valley Commission is appointed.

February 14.—The Allied Supreme Council forwards a note to Holland, admitting her right to keep the ex-Kaiser but asking that he be interned.

February 15.—President Wilson notifies European nations that if the Adriatic settlement of December 9 is not adhered to he may recall the treaty of Versailles and the Franco-British alliance from the United States Senate and withdraw from European adjustments.

February 16.—The Allies accept the German proposal that war culprits be tried at Leipsic, reserving the right to decide by the results her good faith, and to collect and publish in Germany the charges against each defendant.

February 18.—The Supreme Council replies to President Wilson's note on the Adriatic, taking a conciliatory attitude.

February 23.—President Wilson replies to the Allied Adriatic note; Hungary files treaty proposals, demanding plebiscites in regions to be ceded to Austria and Rumania, and protesting against the economic terms.

February 24.—The Supreme Council decides not to recognize Soviet Russia until Bolshevik outrages cease; but the Allies would resume trade, and they counsel peace to border states, although offering them every possible support if attacked by the "Reds."

Charles R. Crane is selected for appointment as American Minister to China.



FOR THE RELIEF OF SERBIAN CHILDREN

(Readers will remember Mr. Doherty's article on "Serbia's Vital Problems" in the March REVIEW. A movement is under way to furnish practical relief to Serbia by caring for homeless and under-nourished children. The Serbian Child Welfare Association has formed a National Birthday Committee, with headquarters in New York, and has formulated a plan which aims to secure the adoption or care of one Serbian child every hour of the day. It is estimated that half a million need assistance, of whom 150,000 are fatherless and 50,000 are orphans. In the scheme of relief there are children's committees and also godmothers' committees to arrange and supervise birthday parties. The plan was originated by Mrs. Oliver Harriman.)

February 26.—Soviet Russia proposes peace terms to the great powers, promising establishment of democratic principles, the calling of a Constituent Assembly, restoration of 60 per cent. of foreign debt liability, etc.

February 27.—The American State Department is reported as considering the Soviet peace proposal as pure propaganda undeserving of recognition or reply.

French troops at Marash retreat in heavy skirmishing in the vilayet of Aleppo, Syria; 20,000 Armenians are reported massacred.

March 1.—Washington replies to Salvador's request for an interpretation of the Monroe Doctrine, citing President Wilson's speech of January 6, 1916, before the Pan-American Scientific Congress.

Sir Auckland Geddes is appointed British Ambassador to the United States.

March 2.—Allied diplomats agree to permit Germany to float a loan, the securities of which will be exempted from reparation claims.

March 3.—The Turkish treaty terms are completed, and Hungarian proposals are taken up for consideration.

March 4.—President Wilson sends final comment to Allied Premiers on Adriatic dispute, refusing withdrawal of the plan of December 9.

March 5.—France consents to Allied plan for German economic rehabilitation, withholding consent to priority of German loan and substitution of neutrals for Reparations Commission, and

seeking freedom of action for anti-Soviet buffer states.

The Dutch Government promises to keep close guard on the former German Kaiser but reiterates its opposition to extradition.

March 7.—The Bolsheviks start an offensive against Poles on both sides of Pripet Marshes, but are defeated.

March 8.—A British fleet is sent to Constantinople to back a demand that Turks cease Armenian persecutions.

March 9.—Italo-Yugoslav negotiations fail, the Italians refusing to give up Valona and the Yugoslavs refusing to give up Scutari. . . . The Allies ask President Wilson for American views on Turkish treaty.

March 10.—The Allies decide to use force against Turkey and send troops to occupy Constantinople.

March 14.—Lower Schleswig, second zone to vote under the Peace Treaty, expresses overwhelming preference for continued German control rather than Danish.

OTHER OCCURRENCES OF THE MONTH

February 14.—Alien "Red" deportation cases at Ellis Island are reduced from 515 to about 100, some 300 being released on bail.

February 19.—The Bureau of Labor Statistics reports that wages during the past year have risen from 25 to 125 per cent. in eleven leading industries, with a ratio of from 4 to 50 per cent. increase in volume of employment.

Grand Trunk Railway shareholders vote to turn the entire system over to the Canadian Government.

February 25.—The first women members of the American College of Physicians are admitted in recognition of studies in child feeding and blood diseases; they are Dr. Anna Weld and Prof. Leila Andrews.

February 27.—An airplane flight by Major R. W. Schroeder at McCook Field, Dayton, results in establishing a new world's record for altitude, 36,020 feet; the pilot falls five miles, but rights his machine at 2000 feet and makes a safe landing.

February 28.—Mexican bandits kill an American storekeeper at Montana Camp, near Ruby, Arizona.

German potash production reaches 550,000 tons for January.

March 3.—President Wilson takes his first motor ride since his illness.

March 4.—Heavy blizzards sweep the entire West, from the Rocky Mountains to the Mississippi and South as far as Dallas, Texas.

March 5.—Blizzards and a cold wave cause heavy damage along the Atlantic seaboard.

Ten railroad officials are appointed to confer with union officials on new wage scales.

March 6.—Chicago express clerks strike, and the companies place an embargo on all but necessary traffic.

The head of the Anti-Saloon League in New York is reported as denouncing Catholic activities to thwart prohibition.

March 12.—New York transit lines withdraw petitions for increased fares, on advice of the Federal court.

Thirty-six thousand New York school children are sent home during the first week of March because of shortage of teachers and facilities.

March 13.—Coastwise longshoremen in New York strike for trans-Atlantic dock worker wage scale; 6000 men go out.

OBITUARY

February 16.—Edward Davis Jones, founder of *Wall Street Journal*, 65. . . . Adelia Belle Beard, author and illustrator.

February 17.—Rev. Jas. H. Pettee, D.D., for forty years a Congregational missionary to Japan, 68.

February 18.—Joseph M. Flannery, known as the world's largest radium producer, 53. . . . Gen. William E. Mickle, for many years Adjutant-General of the United Confederate Veterans, 74. . . . William Blanford, inventor, 82.

February 19.—Rev. Dr. Jacob Fry, of Philadelphia, senior Lutheran minister, 86. . . . Harriet E. Sessions, of Mount Holyoke College, 87.

February 20.—Rear-Admiral Robert E. Peary, U.S.N., retired, discoverer of the North Pole, 64.

February 23.—Dr. Jose M. Ferrer, authority on pneumonia, 63.

February 24.—Franklin Murphy, former Governor of New Jersey, 74.

February 25.—James Gayley, formerly vice-president of the United States Steel Corporation, and distinguished as an inventor, 65. . . . John C. Olmstead, the Boston landscape architect, 68.

February 26.—Anna Alice Chapin, novelist and author, 40.

February 27.—William Sherman Jennings, former Governor of Florida, 57. . . . Orlando W. Norcross, of Worcester, Mass., noted as construction engineer, 81.

February 28.—Charles A. Talcott, ex-Congressman from Utica, N. Y., 63.

March 1.—John H. Bankhead, senior United States Senator from Alabama and last Confederate veteran in the Senate, 77. . . . William A. Stone, ex-Governor of Pennsylvania, 74. . . . Philip H. Dugro, justice of the Supreme Court of the State of New York, 65. . . . Dr. Charles Gordon Hewitt, the Canadian entomologist, 35.

March 3.—Major-Gen. William P. Duval, U.S.A., retired, 73. . . . Prof. Willard T. Barbour, of the Yale law school, 35. . . . John J. O'Shea, Catholic author and editor, 79. . . . Sir Thomas A. Stuart, a distinguished Australian physician and scientist, 64.

March 4.—George D. Smith, the widely known book collector, 50. . . . Louis J. Duveen, art connoisseur, 45.

March 5.—Rt. Rev. William Forbes Adams, Protestant Episcopal Bishop of Easton, 87. . . . Warren B. Hooker, formerly justice of the New York Supreme Court, 63.

March 8.—Gen. S. P. Jocelyn, U.S.A., retired, veteran of Civil and Indian Wars, 77.

March 14.—Justice Eugene A. Philbin, of the Appellate Division of the New York Supreme Court, 63.

March 15.—Judge Loranus E. Hitchcock, of the Massachusetts Superior Court. . . . George Louis Beer, historian and author, 47.

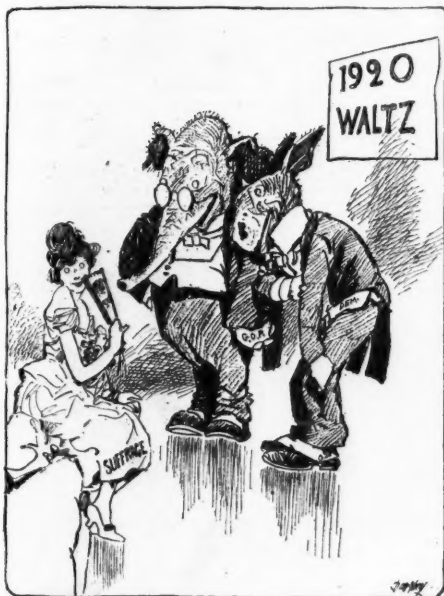
DOMESTIC AND FOREIGN POLITICS IN CARTOONS



THE CAMPAIGN BARRAGE IS ON
From the *Evening Sun* (Baltimore, Md.)



"HELL BENT" FOR ELECTION
From the *Star* (St. Louis, Mo.)



THE BELLE OF THE BALL
From the *Plain Dealer* (Cleveland, Ohio)

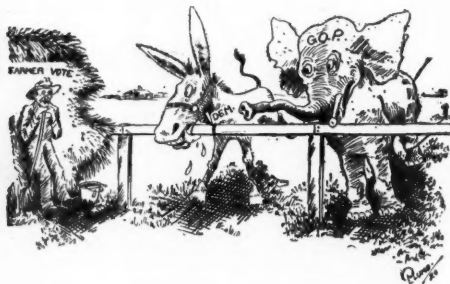


CONFLICTING SPIRITS
(Will the Democratic spirit, or the Republican spirit, establish control?)
From the *Bulletin* (San Francisco, Cal.)

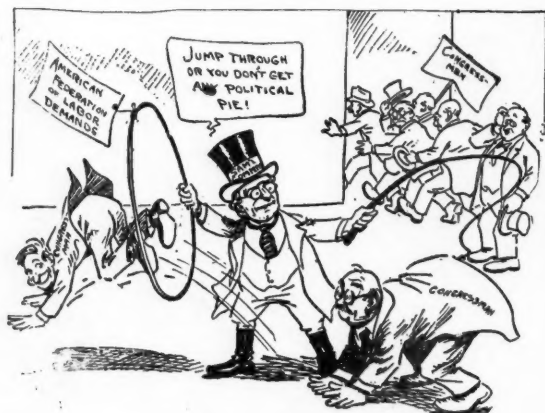


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THE BLACK SHEEP
From the Tribune (New York)



THEY'RE GOOD AND HUNGRY THIS TIME
From the Daily Drovers Journal (Chicago)



MR. GOMPERS AS POLITICAL RINGMASTER
From the Oregonian (Portland, Ore.)



THE LAST FEW BUTTONS ARE ALWAYS THE HARDEST
From the Star (St. Louis)



MACBETH UP TO DATE
"Infirm of purpose! Give me the daggers!"
From the Sun (Baltimore, Md.)



OH-H-H!!
From the Spokesman Review (Spokane, Wash.)



WOOD TO THE REPUBLICAN ELEPHANT: "TENSUN!"
From the *World* (New York)



THE DEMOCRATIC DONKEY AND THE PROHIBITION
GHOST— From the *News* (Chicago, Ill.)



WOOD AND JOHNSON (IN UNISON): "STAY 'WAY
FROM THAT TREE; I SAW IT FIRST!"
From the *Daily News* (Dayton, Ohio)



THEY HEAR THE VOICE OF THE SPHINX (WILSON)
(The third-term riddle has been answered, and the race
is on, with Mr. Palmer and Mr. McAdoo first to start)
From the *Sun* (Baltimore, Md.)



JUST WHEN MR. PALMER IS TRYING TO MAKE AN
IMPRESSION— From the *World* (Tulsa, Okla.)



HOOVER AT THE BAT, OR THE MISTAKE OF A NOVICE
From the *News* (Detroit, Mich.)



SPOILING THE "PIECE"

It's very annoying when four men have met,
To give at a concert a vocal quartet,
And one brings a trumpet and steps to the front
And starts "on his own" quite a different stunt.

From Reynolds' Newspaper (London)



"WAIT A MINUTE!"

(The surprising reappearance of
President Wilson)

From the Star (London)



ITALIA: "DEFEND ME FROM MY FRIENDS!"

From Il 420 (Florence, Italy)



AFTER-WAR INJUSTICE

(America, France, and Britain eat much, but Italy fasts)

From L'Asino (Rome)



WILSPHINX AND CLEMENCEAU

"If you [Clemenceau] came to Egypt that I might reveal the Treaty riddle, you have taken a useless journey."

From Le Rire (Paris)



THE DEMAND FOR WAR CRIMINALS

GERMAN MICHEL (to Court): "I thank you for this demand. You have now so clearly overdone things that I am certain of the sympathy of the public in the gallery."—From *De Amsterdamer* (Amsterdam, Holland)



SOMEBODY AT WORK!

From *Meggendorfer Blätter* (Munich, Germany)



"IT'S ALL BUNK, THIS HEADWORK THEY TALK SO MUCH ABOUT. I'D LIKE TO SEE THE MAN WHO COULD DO OUR JOB WITH HIS HEAD!"

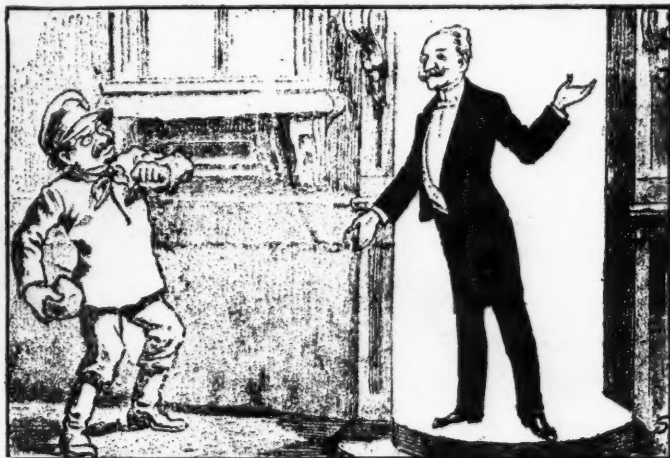
From *Jugend* (Munich, Germany)



THE WAR CRIMINALS

MARIANNE: "Give me that!"

FRITZ: "Would it not be better for you to take it yourself?"—From *Notenkraaker* (Amsterdam, Holland)



ENTENTE NEGOTIATIONS WITH SOVIET RUSSIA

PRESIDENT DESCHANEL (to Trotsky): "Why throw stones through the window? Why not come into the house and talk?"—From *Kikeriki* (Vienna, Austria)



ANOTHER "RESERVATION"

STARVING EUROPE: "God help me!"

AMERICA: "Very sad case. But I'm afraid she ain't trying."

"Relief would be found in the resumption of industrial life and activity and the imposition of adequate taxation. The American people should not be called upon to finance the requirements of Europe in so far as they result from failure to take these necessary steps."—Mr. Carter Glass]

From *Punch* (London)

"SPLENDID ISOLATION!"

From the *Passing Show* (London)

KILLING TWO BIRDS WITH ONE SHOT

[With the fall in value of the English pound sterling came also a drop in U. S. exports]

From the *World* (London)

INSOLVENT EUROPE

THE KING OF THE BELGIANS (to "Uncle Sam"): "My people cannot live on glory. What will you lend me on my war medals?"

From *Opinion* (London)

PROGRESS OF GENERAL WOOD'S CAMPAIGN

BY HON. NORMAN J. GOULD

(Representative in Congress from the Thirty-sixth New York District; Manager of the Eastern Headquarters, Leonard Wood Campaign Committee)

MAJ-GEN. LEONARD WOOD is beyond question the outstanding candidate for the nomination at the Republican convention at Chicago on June 8. Without any disparagement of the other candidates, this statement may be made without qualification or reservation. While each of them undoubtedly has some strength in "favorite son area," General Wood is the only one among them who looms clear and strong as a commanding national figure. The reasons for this are not difficult to define, for whereas the three other prominent candidates have had considerable experience in their native States, General Wood has been a man of national and international renown since the days of the Geronimo campaign on the Mexican border, when Wood won the Congressional Medal of Honor.

General Wood's campaign has made such progress during the past several months that his managers have claimed and still continue to claim that when the convention is called to order he will have 300 delegates pledged to him. There will be 984 votes in the convention; 493 being necessary to a choice. If, as his managers confidently expect, General Wood receives 300 votes on the first ballot, he will need to capture but 183 more to obtain the nomination. The history of Republican Conventions shows that after one or two ballots on which delegates cast complimentary votes for favorite sons, they swing over to the leading candidate, and in this case the leader undoubtedly will be General Wood. His nomination on the third ballot would not be surprising. At all events, the delegates pledging themselves to General Wood are committing themselves to "stick to Wood as long as his name remains before the convention."

Managers of political campaigns are just as prolific with claims as they are lacking in specific details in their statements. In the case of General Wood's supporters, how-

ever, details are given. The 300 delegates were allocated by Senator George H. Moses, manager of the campaign in the South, before any primaries had been held. Results of the primaries serve to convince Wood supporters that Senator Moses' claim will be fulfilled.

More than three months before convention day, Senator Moses said: "New York, New Jersey, Delaware, and New England will furnish 100 delegates to Wood; the South Atlantic States will furnish fifty; the interior South and Southwestern States will supply fifty, and the other 100 will come from the Middle West and Northwest."

Reports received from Wood supporters in various parts of the country since Senator Moses made his statement tend to indicate that the claim of 300 delegates on the first ballot was conservative rather than liberal.

This claim, which has never been offset by counter claims, came at a psychological moment, and when it was ostensibly least expected. It was followed by a series of developments which apparently proved as much of a bombshell in the camps of General Wood's rivals. Just before Senator Moses gave out his statement, rival aspirants were quoted as saying the Wood boom had reached its zenith, was on the verge of bursting, and would never live to see the June day sun.

The other developments which came about the same time included the announcement that General Wood would contest with "favorite sons" in the preferential primaries in their respective States, and the decision of Frank H. Hitchcock, former Postmaster General and manager of the Taft and Hughes campaigns, to participate actively in General Wood's campaign. Overtures were made to Mr. Hitchcock to affiliate himself with the management of the campaign of other candidates, but he joined the Wood forces because he believed General Wood

the strongest candidate both from a party and a national standpoint.

Instead of bursting, the Wood "boom" is growing stronger and stronger each day. There is nothing sensational about its progress; it is steady and healthy, not spasmodic and hectic as so many presidential booms have been in the past. It is developing perfectly normally and satisfactorily and will reach its crest when the convention meets.

Origin and Growth of the Leonard Wood League

The Wood campaign managers are able to keep in touch with the progress of the "boom" because of the organization supporting his candidacy. Since considerable has been said about this organization by General Wood's fellow aspirants, it might not be amiss to refer to the way in which it came into being, who started it, why it was started, and how it functions.

As the father of "the Plattsburg idea," General Wood commanded the esteem and respect of a great number of earnest, patriotic, forward-looking men in this country. By his association with them he endeared himself to them and won their love and admiration. The Plattsburg Association, composed of men who had taken the course there under General Wood, began considering him in connection with the presidency about the same time that the Rough Riders, men who served with Wood in Cuba, were discussing it, shortly after Colonel Roosevelt's death.

From this small, informal beginning the "Wood for President" movement spread to the Training Camps' Association. This organization, having a membership of considerable size, really started the ball rolling. Its members, actuated by admiration and love of General Wood, resolved to further the "Wood for President" movement and work to promote a spirit among the people throughout the country which would create a demand for General Wood as chief executive of the nation to lead it through the perilous and trying days that lay ahead of it.

The work of these young men was entirely voluntary. The movement was not political; the workers representing both of the big national parties. The money necessary to meet the modest expenses of the movement at that time was supplied from the pockets of the young men. Those who could not give money volunteered their serv-

ices as clerks, stenographers, mail-handlers, and in other capacities.

In the hands of these sincere admirers of General Wood the movement spread and gained such headway throughout the country that the Leonard Wood League was formed as a national organization.

To-day the Leonard Wood League has active branches in thirty-five States, and numbers its members in tens of thousands. It is composed of men and women in all walks of life, who voluntarily assumed the task of thoroughly crystallizing the Wood sentiment and coördinating the work of the scattered Wood organizations throughout the country. Each man and woman, upon affiliating himself or herself with the League, began writing to friends with a view of enlarging the membership. All the members set about to persuade prospective delegates to the Chicago Convention that General Wood is an administrator of remarkable attainments and achievements and in every way preëminently qualified to serve as President during the trying reconstruction period. His marvelous work as administrator and executive in Cuba and the Philippines was brought to public attention by the League members as well as his understanding of foreign affairs, which enabled him to warn America even before 1914 of her danger.

Realizing that the interest Col. William Procter, of Ohio, had shown in the welfare of the country had made him a notable national figure, officials of the League invited him to affiliate himself with the "Wood for President" movement. His interest was secured and he became associated with the project.

Development of the Campaign Committee

As the movement developed and the underlying basic interest of the people spread to even remote parts of the country, it became necessary to form a campaign committee to direct the definite aim to crystallize the movement so as to bear upon delegates who would select the Republican nominee at Chicago. As a result of the gigantic proportions assumed by the movement caused by the Leonard Wood League, the campaign committee naturally developed, and Colonel Procter, at the earnest request of a multitude of Wood supporters, consented to become national chairman and active director. Colonel Procter immediately left his business and other interests and entered wholeheartedly into the campaign because of his

conviction that General Wood stands pre-eminent among those mentioned in connection with the nomination.

The Leonard Wood League and the Leonard Wood Campaign Committee have sought by fair means—the use of books dealing with Wood's career, pamphlets telling in detail of his achievements as an administrator and man of broad vision, personal letters, magazine, periodical, and newspaper articles—to awaken the people of the nation to the fact that there is an American of his high type available for service in the White House, and that he should be commandeered as our leader.

General Wood's Personal Appeal

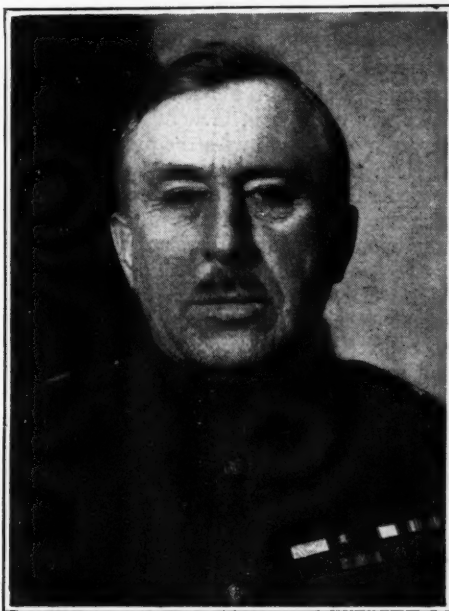
Because of the fact that he pays strict attention to his army duties as Commander of the Central Department, General Wood, perhaps, has not been as personally active in advocacy of his candidacy as some of his rivals. However, he has visited a number of States and found time to make some of the addresses for which his admirers clamored. In every place he has spoken he has created the most favorable impression. In fact, as General Wood put it, "I have been not only most highly gratified, but surprised."

On the platform and off it he appears as a man who is proud of the country in which he was born and keenly zealous of its welfare and its citizens. He is a forceful and vigorous speaker—there is considerable of the old Roosevelt fighting spirit in his trenchant utterances and deliberate delivery—and makes an impressive figure before an audience. In no city where he has spoken has the local committee on arrangements been able to obtain a hall which would accommodate all who wished to hear him. In Detroit, Michigan, a short time ago more than 2000 men and women were unable to get into the auditorium where he spoke.

When he visited Buffalo recently one of his supporters informed him that he was being referred to by the managers of rival candidates as "the man in uniform."

Upon hearing this General Wood replied: "I have no apologies for the American uniform. If I had it would be an insult to the memory of every American soldier who died in France or in our previous wars."

General Wood appeals to the crowds as a man modest and extremely democratic. He numbers among his friends workingmen and women, as well as men of high rank in the



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GEN. LEONARD WOOD

(From a snapshot recently taken in New York)

professions, business and banking. He is able and willing to meet any citizen of the United States and lend an eager ear and quick sympathy to any suggestion, even from the most humble, that gives promise of improving conditions in this country and making it a happier and a better place in which to live. Any American in whose heart burns the fire of patriotism and love of country will find Leonard Wood meeting him more than half way in a common bond of sympathy and understanding.

Notwithstanding his high rank and distinguished career, General Wood is most approachable and genial. He possesses that rare quality among great men—to make others at home and at ease. An interesting incident illustrative of this trait in his character was witnessed at New Haven, Conn., recently when General Wood arrived there after being on a train twenty-four hours and was in quest of breakfast. Entering the railroad station restaurant General Wood saw all the seats occupied. Three ex-service men, in uniform, immediately arose and offered him their seats. General Wood accepted one of them. One discharged soldier gave him half a grapefruit, another his order of ham and eggs, and the third found a pot of hot tea for him. General Wood immediately

got on easy terms with the ex-service men and their chat was mutually interesting. It was the first time the enlisted men had ever eaten a meal with a Major General, but there was nothing in General Wood's manner to impress them with the presumable gap between them.

General Wood's human sympathies are such as to have impressed themselves not only upon his fellow Americans but upon the natives of Cuba and the Philippines as well. Many Cubans have written letters to their friends in the United States expressing the hope that General Wood will be nominated and elected so that Americans may have the benefit of his large-hearted, generous nature and mind which were devoted to the interest of Cuba, where for several years, in a civilian capacity and without the use of any military force whatsoever, he led and directed the rebuilders of the island's destinies.

How He Meets the Day's Issues

General Wood's friends and admirers have devoted most of their time to bringing his personality and past achievements to public attention. Quite naturally there is a demand to know what General Wood stands for and a desire to know what governmental policies he thinks the American people ought to adopt as the chief points in the nation's program for the next four years. General Wood, from the first of his speeches, has made his position with regard to practically every issue unmistakably plain and has advanced some new policies which he believes the nation should adopt. One well-known writer who has interviewed all the prospective candidates for president on both tickets recently said, "General Wood is the only one of the whole lot who stepped forward and met the issues fairly and squarely. The others evaded, side-stepped or talked all around the big problems of the day."

General Wood's platform is best expressed in his own words, recently spoken:

We must stand for one language, one flag and one loyalty, an undivided loyalty to the United States of America. We must stand for law and order, for the rights of the property of the rich as well as the poor; for an unintimidated judiciary uninfluenced by political influence. We must oppose all class legislation, stand against any autocracy of wealth or autocracy of labor. We must strive to give both labor and capital an absolutely square deal. If each will be honest with the other, relatively few labor difficulties will arise. We want to establish conditions under which every thrifty, industrious man and woman can earn a comfortable living; be able

to put something aside for a stormy day; be able to marry, to have a family, and to give their children a reasonable opportunity. These conditions should be attainable by all who are willing to strive.

On the problems of reconstruction, General Wood says:

We are through with the war, so far as actual fighting is concerned, but we have many problems before us—problems of readjustment. Their solution will not present any serious difficulty, if we take them up in the same spirit of coöperation with which we took hold of the war.

General Wood believes in development of merchant marine for handling American commerce and as a reserve navy.

"Under no circumstances," says General Wood, "should we allow the enormous fleet of ships we build during the war to be sold to foreign countries. We must keep it under our own flag. It is most important that we build up a vigorous merchant marine. It is most essential for the distribution of our commerce and the development of our foreign trade. We also need it as a reserve navy."

Referring to business, General Wood has repeatedly said in his speeches:

We want to do everything possible to push forward American business. We must not be afraid of encouraging good business, no matter how big it is. In recent years the opinion has grown up in this country among certain classes of people that big business is bad business and should be suppressed. As a matter of fact, no matter how big a business is, if it is good business, if it is beneficial to the people it should be encouraged. On the other hand, no business is too small to be controlled and regulated if it is bad business. It is not the size of the business which is to be considered. It is the character of it.

We shall be greatly assisted in building up business if we can spread the war burden over a longer period of years. The war was fought not for ourselves alone, but for posterity and it seems hardly just that the burden of the war should be borne exclusively by the present generation, especially the excess profits tax, which has a strangle hold on business. It tends to paralyze initiative; to restrict expansion, which assets are big assets. We do not want anything which will hamper business. We must take the shackles off of business.

With regard to America's foreign policy, General Wood has committed himself in the following words:

We want a strong, self-respecting foreign policy, tolerant, seeking peace, but staunch in the protection of our rights and interests. We do not wish to be trouble makers, but must establish a policy which will insure our standing among nations. A firm and dignified policy in this respect will prevent any actions which may lead to serious difficulties.

General Wood approves of the adoption of the peace treaty with the League of Nations "Americanized with reservations which will leave America free to follow out her traditional policies to control without interference her own internal affairs; in other words, free to follow the dictates of American public opinion as expressed through the instrumentalities provided by the Constitution."

He is an ardent advocate of better pay for school teachers; closer governmental co-operation with farmers for the purpose of reducing the high cost of living; closest scrutiny of immigration; rigid government economy; adoption of a budget system for the nation; universal training for clean citizenship, creation of a Department of Health, the head of which would be a member of the cabinet, and selection of diplomatic and consular officials with the greatest care.

General Wood's attitude with regard to capital and labor appeals equally strongly to both sides. He says:

Labor and capital in this country must work together in order to meet the problems which are going to follow this world war. We do not wish an autocracy of either capital or labor, but a real democracy in both, characterized by a spirit of coöperation and helpfulness. We must inject more of the human element into our relations with those about us, whether they be our associates or our subordinates—more gathering about the table and discussing matters fully and frankly. We must recognize that the working man is neither a machine nor a commodity, but that he is a collaborator with capital.

Individual capacity and ambition must receive encouragement and recognition. The employer must recognize the dignity and status of the worker and give him every consideration due. The closest possible contact and the fullest understanding should be maintained between employer and employee. Arrangements for the adjustment of grievances must be provided which will work smoothly and promptly.

Labor must recognize that high wages can only be maintained under conditions of high production and high efficiency. Capital must be paid in accordance with the risk of the enterprise. Those who direct must be paid adequately; labor must be paid adequately, and after this, if anything remains, comes the question of equitable distribution.

NICHOLAS MURRAY BUTLER ON THE ISSUES OF THE HOUR

REFERRING to Nicholas Murray Butler, in an editorial commenting on an address delivered by him last January before the Philadelphia Chamber of Commerce, the *New York Times* said: "There is nothing in him of the 'pussyfoot' politician or the 'gumshoe' statesman. No other candidate has developed so full a measure of understanding as to our present problems or of vision toward the future." This opinion of New York's candidate for the Republican nomination for President of the United States appears to have been fully substantiated by his public acts and utterances.

With a clearness of vision, keenness of thought, and with a splendid courage of conviction Mr. Butler has always frankly and publicly discussed problems of national and international importance. He has in no slightest way deviated from this course since his name was proposed for the Republican Presidential nomination. His recent utterances, according to the general judgment of the press, have been in harmony with the most liberal and progressive spirit

of the hour. When he has criticised national or international policies, it has always been constructively because he is essentially a builder and not a destroyer.

During the years that the late Colonel Theodore Roosevelt was Governor of New York and President of the United States, Mr. Butler was his chosen adviser, and former President William Howard Taft, writing in the *Philadelphia Evening Ledger* last December, expressed this conclusion: "Nicholas Murray Butler has been the wheel-horse of the Republican party." Leaders of the Republican party concur in Mr. Taft's opinion, for they say that Butler's thought has been the warp and the woof of every Republican national platform for the past twenty years.

As a candidate for President, Mr. Butler's views and his stand on the big issues of the day become of even more vital interest. For more than a year he has discussed the Treaty of Peace and the League of Nations Covenant, speaking in Philadelphia, Boston, Cleveland, Minneapolis, St. Louis, Paterson, and other cities. He wrote the following

condensation of these addresses into the 1920 New York State Republican platform:

We favor the immediate ratification of the pending treaty of peace, with such distinct reservations and declarations as shall make it clear to all the world that the United States retains its unconditional right to withdraw from the League of Nations on proper notice; that the United States assumes no obligation, either legal or moral, to send American soldiers or sailors for services abroad, unless the Congress, in the exercise of its constitutional power, shall so authorize and direct; that the Monroe Doctrine is protected both in letter and in spirit; that no foreign power or council of foreign powers shall have any control whatsoever over the domestic policies of the United States, and that the Government and the people of the United States shall not be drawn, by the operation of Part XIII of the treaty, the so-called labor clauses, into the net spread by international Socialism.

Article X of the covenant for a League of Nations, in its original form, cannot and should not be ratified by the Senate or accepted by the People of the United States. To do so would not only contract away control by the American people of their own policies and acts, but would certainly embroil the country in an endless succession of wars, great and small.

We believe that the proposed covenant for a League of Nations is gravely defective in that it attempts to substitute discussion, instead of the rules of law, for force in the settlement of international differences. We declare it to be the policy of the Republican party, when the treaty of peace is ratified, promptly to take steps for the institution of an international high court of justice to hear and decide, in accordance with the principles of law and equity, disputes that are justifiable in character arising between nations, and for an international conference, meeting at stated intervals, to declare and to revise the rules of international law and conduct.

The Prohibition Amendment

On the Eighteenth Constitutional Amendment he wrote in reply to a letter from William H. Anderson, superintendent of the Anti-Saloon League of New York:

I have long believed the saloon to be a public nuisance that should be abated. I have not supported prohibition for the reason that I did not believe it either a just or proper way to deal with the problem. Contrary views have prevailed, and the Eighteenth Amendment has been proclaimed to be a part of the fundamental law of the land. As such it has the same claim to the respect and obedience of the people as other provisions of the Constitution of the United States. Prohibition may still be debated in the Congress or argued in the courts, but for the executive department of the national government it is a closed issue. Ours is a government of laws, not of men.

For a National Budget System

He is a pioneer advocate of a national budget system. Before the United States

Senate Committee, on January 12 last, he said:

The President should be required by law to take the responsibility for recommending to the Congress just how the income of the next fiscal year is to be raised, just how the expenditures of that year are to be made, and what provision is to be made for the estimated deficiency in income, if any.

There has been some argument of the point that the preparation of the budget should be a matter apart from politics. This could never happen in a democratic form of government. A budget is nothing but politics; it is all politics. It is indeed the issues of the last preceding campaign reduced to practice. If the people desire to establish a certain system of taxation, and so vote, the next budget will reflect that decision. If they deliberately choose a policy requiring certain large expenditures, the next budget should reflect that fact. The budget would very quickly come to be looked upon by the people as the method in and through which they could get their wishes carried out and hold responsible for any failure to carry them out either the President or the Congress, or both, as the case might be.

Legislation for an adequate budget system will, I think, contain three distinct sets of provisions—first, those relating to the preparation and submission of the budget itself; second, those requiring the presence of the heads of executive departments on the floor of Congress at stated times to answer questions and give explanations relative to budget items falling within the scope of their several departments, and, third, provision for an independent audit of all Government expenditures, not only as to the correctness of their form, but as to their economic value, by a public auditor directly responsible to the legislative department of the Government.

Labor and Capital

Before the Union League Club, of Philadelphia, on November 22, 1919, he outlined his policy on industrial relations in these words:

We cannot indefinitely continue, without disaster, the present state of industrial turmoil, which is due to attempts to improve industrial and economic conditions by the use of methods of force. Industrial war must, in the public interest, go the way of international war, and by similar processes. It is futile to attempt to set up any agency for the promotion of industrial peace in which what is called Capital, what is called Labor, and what is called the Public are equally represented and meet upon equal terms. Such a course simply gives new strength to the movement for a class struggle and the promotion of class consciousness. What we call Capital is nothing more or less than a group of men and women who hold savings, all of whom are a part of the Public. What we call Labor is nothing more or less than a group of men and women who work for wages, all of whom are also a part of the Public. Capital and Labor may face each other on equal terms, but they cannot be permitted to face the Public on equal

terms. The Public is always and everywhere their superior and includes them both.

Perhaps a practicable method of advancing industrial peace would be to establish, by authority of Congress, an Industrial Relations Commission before which any industrial difference or dispute might be brought at the instance of any party thereto or at that of the Attorney General of the United States. This Commission, to be made up of judicially-minded persons sworn to serve only the public interest, would then examine into the merits of such difference or disputes as might be brought before it, take testimony, hear arguments, and reach a finding with recommendations for action. Public opinion may be trusted to bring about compliance with the findings and recommendations of such a commission if properly constituted.

High Cost of Government

In New Britain, Conn., on February 25 last, he charged the high cost of government with being one of the fundamental causes of the high cost of living when he said:

The heavy taxation that has already been discussed, especially its more unwise forms, such as the excess profits taxes, tends to increase the cost of living. We cannot do much to reduce the high cost of living until we reduce the high cost of government. When we bring down the high cost of government the high cost of living will fall automatically. There will be a deflation of credit, a reduction in the public debt and a reasonable economy in governmental expenditures. Then, and only then, will the high cost of living, which every man, woman and child in the land feels, begin to decline.

Speaking to the National Association of Engine and Boat Manufacturers, in New York, on February 26, he made this reference to a merchant marine:

It should be a part of our policy to see that the American flag does not again leave the high seas. This can only be accomplished by private enterprise under modern and just laws.

His policy of "Education as a national defense against the menace of Bolshevism and all other 'isms'" is briefly defined in a paragraph from his address in Minneapolis September 15, 1919:

You can meet a wrong, a false, a destructive idea, only by conquering it with the truth, with a right, a constructive idea, and the task of to-day and to-morrow is for every American, every lover of America, every one with a faith in America at heart, to preach, to teach, to act America, until from one end of this land to the other, among our whole hundred millions, there is none so blind and none so deaf as not to see that his personal interest and his group interest depends upon America.

Those who are the enemies of America have not counted the cost of their activity. They are chiefly hidden away in dark places, speaking

strange tongues and preaching doctrines that were exploded when Greece was young. *They cannot stand the light, these enemies of ours.* They cannot stand the reading in their presence of the language of the preamble of our Constitution.

His views as to the proper relationship between the Federal Government and business enterprise were stated in Philadelphia on January 28:

It is little short of pathetic, after some of the best brains in the nation have organized and set on foot a great industrial undertaking which engages the cooperation of thousands of men and women, reduces the cost of production of some staple article, and begins to extend American trade into new lands, to find them summarily brought to book as criminals by the Attorney General of the United States or by the United States District Attorney in some judicial district. No matter what the facts may be, this is precisely *not* the way to deal with the questions involved. The individuals concerned, in most cases at least, have certainly not been consciously attempting a criminal act, but have proceeded along lines which in their judgment were financially and industrially sound, and in full accord with the public interest. To prosecute them as criminals, and to break up into separate parts a well-knit organization which they may have developed, is not in any sense in the public interest—it is against the public interest.

The course of wisdom and of progress would be for the Federal Trade Commission, representing the public intelligence and the public conscience, to hear the plans of those who propose to develop an undertaking of this sort; to point out in advance what would be considered unfair business practices and what would not; to indicate the line where monopoly would be held to begin, and which therefore must not be crossed; and then to send the new undertaking on its way with the full knowledge and cooperation of the Federal Trade Commission, with which, thereafter the undertaking should stand in the closest possible relations. Its financial operations and its industrial policies should be reported to the Federal Trade Commission, and clearly understood by that body. In this way the public would have a proper agency to protect its interests, while the peoples' business could go forward securely and prosperously, the uncertainty as to what might and what might not be done having been removed. For Americans this would be no novel experiment. It would simply repeat in the field of industry the precise policy which the government has followed with extraordinary success in the case of the National Banks, ever since the establishment of the National Banking System in 1863.

Immigration—Americanization

He summed up his numerous statements on "Immigration" in the following plank in his New York State platform:

The recent administration of laws relating to immigration has been shocking in the extreme.

More important than new legislation is correct enforcement of the law that now exists by able, industrious, conscientious officials, who fully understand its significance and purpose. The administrative staff should be adequate and thoroughly competent. Congress should at once make available for the use of immigration authorities the evidence in relation to criminals to be found in the police and court records of the localities from which they come. The general physical requirements for males coming to America to perform manual labor should be raised and made more definite. All aliens should hereafter be required to register once a year at designated offices, while they remain in the country without becoming citizens.

The question of immigration is largely a question of good administration that will lead to the exclusion of undesirable persons and promote the proper distribution and quick assimilation of those able-bodied and clean-minded men and women who come to America to seek new opportunity for usefulness, with a determination to be loyal to the Government and institutions of the United States.

Analyzing the labor problem before the Institute of Arts and Sciences in New York, October 13, 1919, he said in part:

If the wage earner can be led to understand that his wages are paid out of product and not out of capital or out of profits, he will speedily assist in increasing production, because he will understand that only in that way is it possible to provide for any permanent increase in wages. Again, just so soon as the wage-earner is led to see the truth of the fact that he and the man who works with his savings, the so-called capitalist, are alike interested in greater production, he will begin to comprehend what coöperation in industrial production really means. *Persons otherwise intelligent go about the country telling us that it is mere hypocrisy to say that the interests of employer and employed are the same. On the contrary, it is mere ignorance to say they are not the same.*

When this point has been made clear and industry is viewed as a coöperative enterprise in production, then it follows that those who work with their hands, like those who work with their brains and those who work with their savings, are entitled to take part in the organization and direction of the industry and to have a voice in determining the conditions under which their coöperation shall be given and continued. No matter how many or how few persons may have contributed of their savings to the organization and carrying on of a given industry, that indus-

try does not, therefore, belong in the broad sense of the word to them alone: *it belongs also to those human beings who coöperate with them by aiding in the production of goods either by the work of their hands or by the work of their brains.* This principle can readily be applied without interfering with the effectiveness of skilled and responsible management.

Mr. Butler has persistently and eloquently urged sound and practical Americanization methods and policies for many years. In 1914, in an address in Chicago, he said: "To protect the national unity and security, no American community should be permitted to substitute any other language for English as the basis or instrument for common-school education." Again, in Cincinnati, on April 19, 1919, he said: "The cornerstone of American government and of American life—the cornerstone of Americanism—is the civil liberty of the individual citizen. The essentials of that civil liberty are proclaimed in the Declaration of Independence and defined in the Constitution of the United States. The Declaration of Independence rings as true to-day as it did in 1776. The Constitution remains the surest and safest foundation for a free government that the wit of man has yet devised.

"Faithful adherence to these strong and enduring foundations, and a high purpose to apply the fundamental principles of American life with sympathy and open-mindedness to each new problem that presents itself will give us a people increasingly prosperous, increasingly happy, and increasingly secure.

"America will be saved, through education and reason, by those who look with respect and reverence upon the great series of happenings extending from the voyage of the *Mayflower* to the achievements of the American armies on the soil of France, and upon that long succession of statesmen, orators, men of letters, and men of affairs who have themselves been both the product and the highest promise of American life and American opportunity."

THE STRUGGLE FOR PEACE

BY FRANK H. SIMONDS

I. THE GENERAL SITUATION

IN the two months which have passed since I last discussed international conditions in this magazine there have been striking developments in all directions. Three great problems have been pressed to the attention of the world, those of Russia, Turkey, and the Adriatic; but all three are only circumstances in the single major difficulty, in the struggle for peace, which, nearly eighteen months after the end of the fighting, is still unachieved, is still seemingly remote. Nor do the three questions mentioned cover the whole ground, for a fourth, the problem of Germany, is more and more coming to the front as arguments are presented in support of a revision of the Treaty of Versailles, a revision "downward" in German favor.

Now it is essential to recognize, at the outset, that most of all the trouble arises, not as a result of incapacity disclosed by the peacemakers, but as a consequence of the dislocation of war. More than four years of destruction have resulted in an economic dislocation, which, together with the political upheavals, naturally defies any easy and quick solution. The best peace document in the world could not in the smallest degree restore the destroyed property or raise the dead. A generation will pass before these consequences, the effects of the war, can be even measurably liquidated.

There is a widespread notion, sedulously propagated in certain quarters, that the ratification of the treaties by the United States Senate and the modification of the terms affecting Germany would change the existing situation promptly, but this is a mere delusion as ridiculous as the idea now disseminated by certain British economists that, had the peace negotiations been differently conducted, the economic consequences of the war might have been avoided. The truth is that the chaos, the economic anarchy, the general *malaise* that extends throughout the world are but the logical and inevitable consequences of the conflict, which cannot be abolished by any document.

Having said this, it remains to point out that the present situation results from the complete lack of central authority anywhere in the world. The Paris Conference undertook to act, clothed with the authority residing in the force of victorious armies. It issued certain orders, and it agreed upon certain policies. But when the agreements had been reached and the orders issued, there was no power to translate these decisions into actions. Thus, save in the case of Germany, which was directly under the control of the Allied armies, submission or rejection of the Paris orders was optional with those who received the orders.

This was inevitable unless the victorious nations, Britain, France, Italy, and the United States, were prepared to furnish troops to carry out the will of the Peace Conference. No decision in the matter of Russia, for example, was worth consideration, unless it were backed by the military force which could compel Russia to accept and obey the Paris Conference. When the Paris conferees discovered that their writ did not run beyond their artillery, they had either to advance their guns or abandon their effort to impose their decisions.

Instead, however, they continued to issue orders and to make resolutions. They hesitated between three courses, two of which were actually futile, that is, between the reduction of Russia by arms, the ignoring of Russian affairs altogether, and the attempt to compose their grievances with Russia as best they could. In the beginning they used the military forces of Kolchak, Denikine, and Yudenitch as their agents, supplying these with arms, but failing to contribute the military units, without which these Russian leaders were bound to fail. Next they turned their backs on Russia. Now they are seeking to make peace with Russia, no longer having any adequate weapon against a Bolshevik leadership, which has conquered domestic enemies.

The Turkish problem reveals the same story: absence of power, multiplicity of efforts, and, as in the Russian case, confusion of national interests. For, in Turkey,

British, French, and Italian interests clash, rather than coincide; and the same is equally true in the case of Germany and of Russia. Indeed, Italian policy is now manifestly working against the French to bring about a restoration of Germany as a menace to France, while the British seek the restoration of the German state, not as a political menace to the French, but as a new commercial field for themselves.

Actually, then, America has quit Europe, leaving Britain, France, and Italy as the executors of the Paris Conference decisions and the liquidators of the unfinished accounts; and these three nations have already fallen into very sharp differences which tend to become more acute all the time. Moreover, as the recent Fiume dispute indicated, in order to preserve a degree of unity between these three nations, compromises have to be patched up, which are, to say the least, obnoxious to President Wilson and his views of settlement.

II. CATSPA W PERILS

I am going to discuss these several problems in detail; but before I do this I desire to warn my readers against the present danger, menacing all Americans, of becoming the victims of the propaganda of the several Allied and enemy nations alike, in the present crisis. The essential truth is that the British, French, Italian, and, for that matter, German governments pursue certain legitimate but not less personal ends, for which they are each seeking to acquire moral and sentimental justifications.

The British are endeavoring, first of all, to persuade Americans to remain in European affairs, because they are satisfied that American support will be assured for their views, which are expressed in a determination to reduce the economic charges of Germany. Such reduction will immensely benefit their own trade, although patently imperilling France, and in the similar wish to restrict the new Poland as much as possible is a detail in the regeneration of Germany and in the placating of Russia. As to the Adriatic fuss, the British are ready to support Wilson against Nitti, if America will consent to take a real interest in Europe, but unwilling to break with Nitti until our decision is made. Pending this, the British are quite cleverly using Italian assistance against the French, while planning to use our aid against both the French and the

Italians, if we consent to remain in Europe.

Above all else it is necessary to recognize that the British policy is based purely and simply upon commercial conceptions. The British have won, in the war and in the peace, all that they could hope to win—the destruction of a rival fleet, the elimination of an economic rival, the freedom and security which are essential to British prosperity. For them this war has ended as did the Napoleonic and Louis XIV wars. Now it is necessary to get back to business as soon as possible.

Neither the French nor the Italians are in such happy situation. For both of them the war imposed a far greater proportionate cost, and the peace provided far less complete recompense. The elimination of the German fleet and the occupation of the German colonies gave Britain security, but France cannot have the same security if Germany holds the Rhine barrier and the new Polish state remains too weak, in combination with France, to balance German military might. Italy looks with apprehension at the rise of a new Slavonic state, which may have a future menace for her in the Adriatic far in excess of that which the crumbling Hapsburg monarchy had in the last century.

But French and Italian policies do not coincide, because France desires to have all the new Slav states strengthened and sees in Poland, Jugo-Slavia, and Czechoslovakia future allies against German militarism. Conscious of the possibility that a restored Germany may again attack, France opposed German restoration at French expense and favors the extension of the Slav states.

Italy, on the contrary, is fully prepared to see Germany restored, no matter what the menace to France, provided only that Jugo-Slavia is weakened; for Jugo-Slavia is not only a possible rival on the Adriatic, but, with Greece, a positive barrier to Italian mastery of the Balkans and the Near East. Thus, while France is seeking to strengthen three Slav states, which would be her allies inevitably, Italy is striving to build up an alliance with the Hungarians, the Rumanians, and the Bulgarians, who are hostile to the three Slav states. She is, too, holding out a hand to Berlin, at the same time, for such an association as she seeks would fall in with German purposes in the future.

On the whole, the British are playing the Italian game against the French because their own commercial interests will most prosper by the restoration of Germany.

They are striking against Poland, they are continuing to urge the reduction of German indemnities, to support Russia against Poland, Italy against Jugo-Slavia, to argue in favor of the union of German Austria with Germany, thus increasing, by eight or ten millions, the number of Germans and re-establishing Germany hegemony on the continent, with purely commercial ends in mind.

All of which is another way of saying that the British are perfectly willing that Germany should be the dominant land power in Europe again, provided that she abandons naval aspirations, and her present financial condition imposes such a limitation. The Italians are equally willing, since Germany will naturally have the same anti-Slav purposes as the Italians, while the French, abandoned by both their recent allies, are striving a little hopelessly to safeguard the victory for which they have paid so much and the fruits of which are being enjoyed by the British and the Italians, rather than by themselves.

Now, examining these circumstances, it is obviously essential that Americans should not be deluded into imagining that the battle in Europe at the present hour is between liberalism and imperialism, between British moderation and continental chauvinism. The battle is between two totally legitimate national conceptions, between two utterly different self-interests, those of the French and the British. Moreover, the British argument is admirably set forth in the book of Maynard Keynes, the British economist, who proposes a general surrender by all the enemies of Germany, the British alone excepted, of much of their profit, and adds the delicious detail that the United States shall consent to cancel the \$10,000,000,000 of loans, made by it to Allied countries, who will then cancel their loans to each other, reduce the German indemnity correspondingly, and—solicit new American loans.

Keynes is only one of a score of Englishmen who are eagerly seeking some way of getting some other country to meet the costs of the war and at the same time to get Germany on her feet, thus opening a way for British commerce, since in the next decades Germany would be bound to prove the best British customer. Americans should perceive this and refuse to be snared by any European plea of idealism which aims at achieving practical results at their own or somebody else's expense. Europe is getting back to normal, politically if not economically.

The clash of policies is not of direct concern to us. Above all, it is not for our interests to play the game of one European nation against another. Granted that it is of immense profit to the British to keep Poland weak and thus promote British trade in Germany and in Russia; we, who have a Polish sympathy more than a century old, have no such interest.

During the war, and particularly after we became a belligerent, our purposes and those of our European allies were identical. But this is no longer true. Each of our former associates has its own national interests to serve, and for us there is not only a duty but a necessity to avoid being made a catspaw in the conflict between these purposes. Nations will continue to camouflage self-interest with quotations from the Fourteen Points, but it is our need to examine each proposal with utmost care, no matter what its source.

III. THE RUSSIAN SITUATION

Now, bearing in mind the circumstances which I have emphasized, what is the Russian situation? Obviously all nations, European and American, would be benefited by peace with and in Russia. To restore some sort of order in that chaos, which for three years has been a world menace, would be worth any reasonable price. Moreover, it is no longer possible to think of restoring Russian order by external interference, either by a war of conquest, which was never attempted and only briefly contemplated, or by employing Russian leaders as our indirect agents.

Lenine and Trotzky, with their associates, are now masters of Russia. The forces of opposition have been practically smashed and the soldiers who led the armies of the Czar and those of the anti-Bolshevists are in increasing numbers submitting to the Bolshevik rule. In a word, exactly as in the French case, the Russian revolution has become national and the fusion of the nation with the revolutionaries is becoming more and more complete.

So far it is plain we are on safe ground, but only negative conclusions can be based on these assertions. We cannot conquer Russia, we cannot overthrow the present Russian régime, by indirect methods. We must therefore choose between making peace and making war, for it is idle to suppose that there can be any twilight zone, any

state which is neither war nor peace, when more than 150,000,000 of human beings are concerned and some of the richest and most fertile regions on this planet are in the case.

But making peace is not the simplest thing in the world. To begin with, on what terms is peace possible? We have agreed at Paris to the liberation of Russian border tribes, for example, to the freedom of Finland and Poland. We have at least considered and played with the idea of the freedom of the Baltic provinces; and we have recently assigned Bessarabia to Rumania. Suppose Russia declines to accept all these transfers of Russian territory, what then? We cannot officially surrender the Poles and the Finns to their Russian masters. We cannot openly agree to abandon the Poles, the Finns, the Lithuanians, and the Letts, to say nothing of the Rumanians, to a new form of Russian tyranny.

But as the Russian Bolsheviks become more and more national in the policies advocated, there is a growing reassertion of the old Russian ideas. Even Constantinople is now claimed by the Soviet successors of the Czars. Moreover, eastern Siberia is in Japanese hands; and Japan sees with apprehension the rise of a new Russian régime, which in the future may reopen the question of Slavdom on the Pacific.

Agreed that we all want peace with Russia, what are we willing to pay for it, for we must accept Russian terms? We have, in fact, made war upon Trotsky and Lenine covertly, even if it were not open war, and they have won the contest. Here once more there is a plain divergence of Allied policy. The British are ready to consent that the Russians reoccupy all of their old Polish conquests save the very narrow strip of territory in which the Poles are the chief ethnic element. This would mean that Poland would be practically indefensible against subsequent Russian attack. But the British argue that unless she regains all, save the ethnic areas, Russia will be bound to attack Poland and join with the Germans in a new partition. The weakness of this British contention lies in the fact that there is no promise that, even with the return of all but the ethnic area, Russia will abandon Polish designs.

The French support the Polish claims to a frontier which would be defensible, an eastern boundary at the Pripet Marshes with the right to garrison for a period of years the west bank of the Dnieper, which corre-

sponds for Poland to the Rhine barrier for France. The French are less eager to make peace with Russia than to establish a really strong Poland, which shall replace Russia in the scheme of European relations in the future and menace Germany on the east, just as Russia did in 1914, if Germany makes a new attack in the west. Moreover, the French are quite unwilling to make any arrangement with the Russians, unless the Russians agree to repay the billions borrowed from France before the war.

Now it would be a mistake to see either in French or British policy any concern for principles which conflicted with their own national aspirations. There is security for France in a strong Poland and nowhere else. There is profit for the British in trade with Germany and Russia, which will be promoted, according to British notions, if Poland is kept weak, that is, if Polish aspirations are sacrificed to German and Russian. But the conflict between the two policies leads to chaos and the prolongation of economic paralysis.

As for the Italians, they are supporting the British attitude in the matter of Russia, because the French refused to support their ambitions in the Adriatic and instead backed the Jugo-Slavs, accepting President Wilson's views in this case, but solely because a strong Jugo-Slavia was only less important than a strong Poland. Beyond this, Italy has every reason to desire to promote a cleavage between the Slavs themselves, because if Pan-Slavism ever revived, then obviously Italy would be menaced by a possible confederation of all the Slavs from the Urals to the Adriatic.

IV. THE SINGLE PROBLEM

I am going to touch on the Adriatic problem presently, but it is essential to recognize that there is really only one problem, which is revealing itself in Russian, Adriatic, and Turkish phases, to say nothing of the German development. Peace with Russia depends entirely upon the temper of the Bolshevik control. This control has a strong army, which is reported to be mobilizing on the Polish front, and the army has become in a measure national. The British and the Italians are striving to compel the Poles to give in and take boundaries which will be indefensible, in the hope of placating the Russians. American policy seems to be tending in the same direction. But the

French continue to back the Poles and the Poles are not likely to retire to their own ethnic frontiers, followed by Russian armies, unless they can acquire some real guarantee that the Russians will not begin on the Bug the attack they are now planning on the Beresina.

The Germans, on their part, are striving to prevent any Russo-Polish settlement, because they plan to reconquer from the Poles the provinces of Posen and West Prussia, assigned by the Paris Conference to Poland, as well as Upper Silesia, if the plebiscite in that region favors the Poles. This German purpose is, moreover, strengthened by British attempts to compel the Poles to abandon Upper Silesia, even if the people vote to become Poles, as a detail in the British plan to rehabilitate Germany. The explanation here is the existence of a coal basin in Upper Silesia, which the British think—that is, Britons of the Keynes camp think—would be more useful to world economic prosperity in German than Polish hands.

Germany and Russia will naturally agree in their future Polish policy, for both would like to reclaim Polish lands, lands ethnically Polish, which the present settlement has assigned to the new Polish state. France would like to protect Poland against inevitable attack. Britain would risk Poland in the hope of placating both Russia and Germany, and Italy is ready to contribute her moral aid to any project to weaken the smaller Slav nationalities, of which Jugoslavia is the most obnoxious to her.

But it is worth recalling that there are 25,000,000 Poles, that they are entitled to liberty, that the old partitions created an unstable situation in Europe, and that America has very little real justification in permitting itself to become a partner in a policy to sacrifice the Poles to German and Russian policies, even if the sacrifice were as profitable to her as it would obviously be to the British or as useful as it would be to Italian purposes.

If Poland is to be compelled to retire from those natural barriers at which, alone, she can defend herself against future Russian attack, then it is the duty of those nations which are seeking to compel her to make this withdrawal to guarantee her against attack. But no one believes that the British, the Italians, or the Americans would send armies to the Vistula and the Bug to defend Poland; and without these armies Poland would fall. As for the French, they cannot

spare the men from their German guard-houses along the Rhine.

The odd thing about the present British policy is that it repeats exactly Sir Edward Grey's fatal policy in the Balkans in 1915, when Bulgaria was arming and the Serbs, well informed as to the purpose of the mobilization, asked permission to attack the Bulgars at once. The British forbade this attack. The Bulgars completed their mobilization, attacked Serbia in the rear and brought about the ruin of the country and three years of hostile occupation. This blunder was expensive for the British and the French, since it compelled the Salonica expedition; but it was most expensive for the Serbians, who will not recover for a generation from the consequences of enforced obedience to British orders in the critical moments of 1915.

However, in the case of Russia, it is primarily essential for Americans to perceive that the problem is not simple. As to the notion that Russia is a storehouse of raw materials just bursting the sides and waiting only real peace to become available for Europe, this is utter nonsense. Whatever raw materials and food there may be—and the supply is limited—it will take a very long time to restore communications sufficiently to permit transportation. The sooner peace is made the quicker we shall get at the raw materials, but there will be no prompt relief, even if peace comes to-morrow.

And peace may not come to-morrow or next year, for Russia is getting away from the old Bolshevik madness and tending rapidly toward nationalistic policies. Moreover with strong armies and with only the Poles and Rumanians capable of resisting them, the Russians may not impossibly drift into some such policy of conquest as marked the last days of the first French Republic and the rise of Napoleon. And the greater this danger becomes, the less likely the Poles are to abandon all reasonable or even unreasonable precautions against national ruin. It is simple enough for Americans or Englishmen, protected by the Channel or the Ocean from all enemies and from every invader, to characterize the Polish desire to hold the Dnieper and the French will to occupy the Rhine as imperialism and chauvinism; but in point of fact the British doctrine of sea supremacy and the American insistence upon the Monroe Doctrine disclose the same underlying purpose, the same instinct for self-preservation.

It may be that the Revolution has burned

itself out and that the desire of the Russian masses for peace is so compelling that Lenin and Trotsky will have no choice but to make reasonable proposals, for, after all, they are in a position to dictate peace terms. In that case we shall see a swift settlement and an end of the anarchy, international, if not domestic, which has resulted from the Russian upheaval. For this all must hope, but we have been too often disappointed and misled in Russian affairs to indulge in extreme optimism now.

Nor can we afford to assume too great responsibilities in sharing in any effort to coerce the border races into making peace on ruinous terms. We do not mean to accept any responsibility for Polish independence. We are not ready to send a division to Rumania, if the Russians seek to retake Bessarabia. Therefore we should be chary of accepting moral obligations by lending our admittedly considerable influence to forcing the Poles or the Rumanians to make concessions, which a year or a decade hence may spell national ruin for them.

In the Russian case, as elsewhere in Europe, there is great and growing danger lest American influence shall be exploited to serve the selfish ends of other countries, which are appealing to the United States in the language of American policy as expressed at Paris, but are acting in the interest of their own economic and political interests.

V. THE TURKISH DECISION

The announcement made after the London session of the British, French, and Italian Prime Ministers, that the Turk was to be left in Constantinople, took the world by surprise, because the world had more or less tacitly accepted the declarations, made during the war, that victorious peace would carry with it the expulsion of the Turk from Europe.

But if the Turk is to be expelled, who is to take his place? In Paris the President and Colonel House were ready to accept the mission, the Turkish mandate for the United States, with the full approval of all the European nations, actually concerned. But the course of the debate in the Senate having demonstrated that the United States was unlikely to take the mandate, it was necessary to find a substitute.

Had Russia remained faithful to the alliance, Constantinople was hers, by virtue of the agreement of France and Britain early

in the war. But Russia had taken herself out of the reckoning and if the Lenin-Trotsky government was beginning to repent of its renunciation of Constantinople and reassert Czarist claims, no one was prepared to recognize these claims. Indeed, one can believe that Western Europe was on the whole relieved that Russia's claims had been extinguished.

But with America and Russia out, who was available? Among the great powers, Britain, France, and Italy; among the lesser, Greece. But the three great powers were agreed in opposing one another's claims. The French were unwilling the British should hold the Straits. The British and French opposed Italian claims, and the British and Italians opposed French occupation. As to the Greek, he was the logical heir, since the property had once been Hellenic, but he could only hold it with Allied support. Moreover, his claims in Asia Minor conflicted with Italian.

Actually the decision came down, then, to a choice between international control and the continuation of the Turkish occupation. But here new objections arose. International control means international chaos. The case of Tangier has recently proved one more demonstration of this fact. It also means an absence of direct responsibility—an important thing for the French, who hold most of the Turkish debt.

Back of this loomed the larger question of religion. Britain and France in Asia and Africa are very great Mohammedan powers, and their subjects, who acknowledge the spiritual supremacy of the Caliphate, were opposed to the dispossession of the Turk. It was a matter of real moment to the French in Algeria and Tunis, to the British in India and Egypt, and even the Italians have Mohammedan subjects, to avoid an upheaval, born of the expulsion of the Turk. The result of all the various influences, and the absence of any clearly defined alternative, explains clearly one more failure in the case of the Turk.

But unluckily not only did the decision arouse loud protest in England, but the Turk chose this moment to begin new Armenian massacres and to attack the French in Cilicia, the British in Mesopotamia, and to threaten the Greeks in Smyrna. This new manifestation of Turkish nationalism held out a similar menace for the Italians, engaged in occupying the hinterland of the Gulf of Adalia. The three great powers

found themselves confronted at the same moment with domestic protest and foreign dangers.

A simple solution is not to be found, despite all the weaknesses of the existing compromise. Probably no European nation, with the exception of the British, could afford the costs of a new campaign such as would be necessary to reduce the Turks, and the British could only undertake it if the reward were the occupation of the whole of the Turkish Empire—a thing which is not to be thought of in view of Greek, Italian, and French aspirations. But no combined operation of the three countries, with a measure of Greek assistance, is likely, for there is no commensurate reward.

Here is the key of the whole problem. It may be a sin to leave the Turk in Constantinople, an offense against civilization, but it is not less clear that there must be some successor. To take Constantinople and place it under Christian rule, under international control, would merely mean to arouse the anger of all of the Islamic world and would lead directly to the massacre of the surviving Armenians and scattered Greeks in the Turkish districts of Anatolia and Armenia. It would lead indirectly to international rivalries between the three great powers, who would have to undertake the joint administration of Constantinople. And Constantinople, itself, would be a source of weakness if Russia should presently come to health and, as signs seem to suggest, reassert her old claims upon the Golden Horn. However one approaches the Constantinople problem, the difficulties promptly disclose themselves in impressive proportions.

The real difficulty with the Turkish problem is that Turkey, with the possible exception of Syria and of Mesopotamia, is a geographic and economic unit. It cannot be broken up without propagating, not preventing, anarchy. The ideal solution is obviously mandatory control by a single great power, but only America, of the great powers, was acceptable to all others and only America possessed the immediately available capital and resources for the gigantic task.

Moreover, even for America the task was colossal, because to the financial and military burdens incident to the immediate task were added the complications due to the Italian, Greek, and French claims, which, in the case of the Greeks, rest on very substantial foundations of ethnological as well as historic facts. Moreover, if the problem of Turkey, prop-

erly speaking—that is, of Anatolia, Armenia, and Thrace—is complicated by racial and national rivalries, the same is true quite as much of the Arabic fraction, where the British and the French are working at cross-purposes themselves and are confronted by the claims of the Arabs, recognized by their own official concessions.

All of which is another way of saying that the Turkish thorn, like the Russian, is difficult to grasp. It is true that the rivalries of the great powers complicate the question, but it is no less true that the main difficulty lies in the hopeless mixture of races and religions in the whole of the old Osmanli Empire from Basra to Byzantium. To-day the several powers have contented themselves with marking out spheres of influence in the Arab regions and about the Gulf of Adalia, assigning to the Greeks the Smyrna area.

But the Arabs are unwilling to accept the French rule in Syria; the Turks are fighting the French about Adana and around Mosul are attacking the British, while the Arabs are in arms against the French and are only temporarily reconciled to British rule at Bagdad. To this is added the problem of Egypt, where disorder is very far from abolished. Were the European powers financially and physically as strong as before the war, they might make a common effort to restore order in this region, but they are not and the promise is for half measures, growing anarchy and further massacres, while even a joint protectorate over Constantinople would change little and perhaps increase rather than diminish disorder to the south. Still, the general protest over the Constantinople proposal suggests some such reversal of policy on the part of the great powers, perhaps with added pressure from America, which manifestly disapproves of the present solution.

VI. THE NEW FIUME DEADLOCK

Turning now to the Adriatic, one sees at once a new evidence of the general incoherence. The elements in the problem are universally known. Great Britain and France, in a moment of extremity, made a bargain with Italy, promising her certain rewards if she would come into the war as an ally. These rewards, recognized by the Treaty of London, included the crest of the Alps on the Tyrolese frontier, Trieste and its hinterland, the western half of the Istrian Peninsula, and the northern half of

Dalmatia, together with various islands. Fiume was left to the Jugo-Slavs.

Italy entered the war, performed her part of the bargain and in return demanded, at the Paris Conference, the territory promised her. But she also demanded Fiume on the basis of self-determination. After months of debate, President Wilson, who had opposed the terms of the "secret" treaty, appealed to the Italian people over the head of Orlando, with the result that the Italians rose to support their government and the Fiume claim.

Since then we have had a deadlock, Italy occupying the disputed territory, Fiume finally seized by D'Annunzio, to prevent any surrender by the Italian government, the Jugo-Slavs mobilizing in the hinterland. In a word there has not been a moment since last spring when war was not a possibility. Moreover, the necessity of the Italians to maintain their claims by force has compelled them to keep their armies mobilized and thus prevented a return to conditions of peace, incidentally straining financial resources.

British and French support of President Wilson has aroused the bitterest Italian resentment, while rage at the American President has known no limits. French troops in occupation in Adriatic ports have been murdered by Italian mobs; there have been clashes between American and Italian naval authorities, and the whole situation has been and is difficult and dangerous.

Meantime, after the return of the President to America and the virtual retirement of America from the European debate, Britain, France, and Italy have sought to arrive at some settlement. The settlement recently agreed upon, after long delays, represented a material reduction of Italian claims, but was unsatisfactory to the Jugo-Slavs and did not conform to the last compromise approved by Mr. Polk, acting for President Wilson. Accordingly, when the British and French governments transmitted this compromise to the Jugo-Slavs, together with the minatory notice that, if it were rejected, the terms of the Treaty of London would be applied, the President intervened, with the result that the whole matter was reopened.

No one who looks at the dispute calmly can fail to perceive that the President's contentions have been justified by the facts. He has, indeed, consented to the inclusion within Italian frontiers of more than half a million Germans and Slavonians, in absolute disregard of his principle of self-determina-

tion and out of respect for Italian demands for a strategic frontier. But Italy is looking for something more than a strategic frontier. She is seeking economic control of the Adriatic, through the mastery of the two ports which have railway communication with the hinterland and thus are the economic lungs of Jugo-Slavia.

But right as the President's contention has been, from the outset, the difficulty has lain and lies in the reluctance of the American people to accept responsibilities in foreign matters. If the Italians do not find a compromise satisfactory to the Jugo-Slavs, armed collision will inevitably result; for the Jugo-Slavs, having the moral endorsement of their claims, supplied by the President's several notes, cannot yield. To do this would be to risk the newly achieved unity of the three branches of the Southern Slavs.

Meantime the Italians have been at work rousing the Rumanians, the Hungarians, and the Bulgarians against the Jugo-Slavs. They have sought to break up the solidarity between the Croats, the Slovenians, and the Serbs, and they have promoted separatist aspirations among the Montenegrins. The result is that, if any collision should grow out of the Fiume episode, the Jugo-Slavs would be assailed on all fronts, simultaneously, and a new partition would result, unless the United States and Great Britain intervened. Moreover, as I have already pointed out, French support of the Jugo-Slavs, based upon the desire to see a strong Slav state on the Danube, has led to a Franco-Italian estrangement, while similar support of the Serbs in the Banat has been equally destructive of Rumanian friendship for the French, the British, and the Americans. And in obtaining for the Serbs a fraction of the Banat, their western friends have incurred for them the dangerous enmity of the larger Rumanian neighbor, hitherto a friend and ally.

VII. NEW EUROPEAN TENDENCIES

The Adriatic problem not merely involves Slav, but also Greek interests. If the Italians are eagerly seeking to reduce Slav possessions at the northern end of the Adriatic, they are not less earnestly endeavoring, by maintaining the fiction of Albanian nationalism, to prevent the Greeks from occupying the Hellenic regions of Northern Epirus. Not only does Italy deny these Greek territories to the state of Venizelos, but she continues to hold the Egean Islands,

the Dodecanesus and Rhodes, whose population is purely Greek, whose aspiration to be joined to their Hellenic brethren is as old as the Greek War of Liberation, which will pass its first centennial next year.

But both in the case of the Jugo-Slavs and of the Greeks, there is no other available champion than the United States. In the last analysis, neither the British nor the French can risk further estrangement of Italy. Europe is drifting back to a new system of alliances. To-morrow or next day Germany and Russia will be in the market and if Italy allies herself with these two states, then the balance of power in Europe will be broken and the fate of the recently liberated nationalities will be at stake.

Hence the ever more insistent demands from the British that America return to Europe. If we do not come back the British will presently be compelled to enter a new system of European alliances, to agree to French, Italian, perhaps even Polish claims, for a Russo-German alliance would be even more of a threat to the British than to the French, since it would menace India and Mesopotamia, even more acutely than Strassburg or Metz. In partnership with the British, the United States can share in a real Anglo-Saxon world control, but if we reject the partnership, the present British domination of Europe will come to an end and Britain will find herself driven to make the same alliances which preceded the World War, and were signs of British perception of existing menaces to her security.

Moreover, and this fact underlies all British policy, a system of alliances will not only reappear, but claim Britain as a member, unless the United States promptly accepts the League of Nations, which is the Anglo-Saxon substitute and—unless present signs fail—the League of Nations itself would prove an alliance of Britain, the United States, and France, with Italian participation conditioned upon the degree of American commitments.

VIII. THE GERMAN REVOLUTION

As I read the proofs of this article the first news has come in of the German Revolution. Of the success or failure of this uprising it is too early to speak, but the character of the men who are engineering it is known. We are in the presence of exactly the same sort of reaction which occurred a little more than a century ago, when Napoleon came back from Elba. The fact that

Germany has no Napoleon, that the German menace is a system, not a single tyrant, is of little significance.

The causes of the German reaction are identical with those of the Napoleonic return. Exactly as at the Congress of Vienna, the conquerors have become divided. Rivalries have sprung up between the French, the British, and the Italians, wholly comparable with those which well-nigh wrecked the Vienna Conference. The German Junkers have seized upon a moment as favorable for them as was Napoleon's hour of return for him.

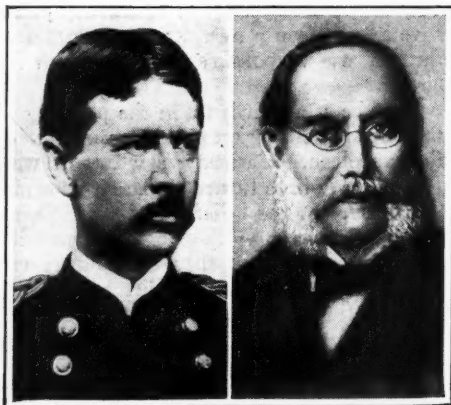
But the same perils lie in the pathway of the Prussian militarists as proved insuperable for Napoleon. Germany is weary of war. If her people have turned to the Army again, it is merely in the belief that the Allies are no longer able or willing to insist upon the present peace terms; that the soldiers can now save Germany, restore her to the position of 1914, regain for her the lost provinces and the former economic position, not by battle but by old-fashioned sabre-rattling.

All depends now upon the Allied decision. If the British and French governments unite in a determination to hold no conversation with the Junkers; if they demonstrate to the German people that the reaction will lead not to better terms for Germany, but to worse, that all economic aid will be withheld if they disclose a resolution to preserve their victory over Prussianism, then, sooner or later, probably promptly, the German reaction will encounter German resistance.

A continuation of the policy of recent months, however, further vacillations such as have marked the conduct of relations both with Germany and with Russia, will lead straight to disaster. The victory of 1918 is once more placed in jeopardy, because world peace can never be secured while the old gang are in control in Berlin. The shadow of Hindenburg and the fact of Ludendorff operating behind the shadow, are as deadly a menace to world tranquility as was Napoleon himself. Once more, as in 1914, the French have been right and the Anglo-Saxons wrong in their estimate of Germany; but this time the advantage of military resources is in Allied hands. Foch has the necessary weapon to reduce German resistance briefly and completely. All depends upon whether the statesmen who have sabotaged his victory consent now to let him undo their mistakes, or insist upon making their failures absolute.

ON THE TRAIL OF THE YELLOW-FEVER GERM

FROM THE NOTES OF A BYSTANDER



DR. WALTER REED
(Head of the Board of Army Surgeons that learned by experimentation the mosquito's part in yellow-fever transmission)

DR. CARLOS FINLAY
(Who forty years ago advanced the theory of the transmission of yellow fever by the mosquito)

IT is announced that Dr. Noguchi and his associate, Dr. Kligler, both of the scientific staff of the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research, have gone to Yucatan at the urgent request of the people and authorities of the stricken regions, to study yellow fever, which still ravages certain districts and is a menace to other tropical and semi-tropical countries—among them our own Southern States and the West Indies. Last season Dr. Noguchi went to Guayaquil on a similar mission, returning with results of great scientific interest and practical importance. The present expedition, like the former, is managed and financed by the International Health Board, of the Rockefeller Foundation.

To the Man in the Street, whose versatile and belabored mind is sorely overtaxed these days with a host of big and little problems and events, this undramatic item about yellow fever probably doesn't appeal as first-page news. But there is a little story in it of science, of humanity, of professional lure and pride, and of economic promise. So it may be worth while to outline the story, if

only for the sporting features of an episode in the continuing conquest of disease.

A Menace to Our Southern States

We do not longer fear yellow fever in New York and Philadelphia and other northern districts of the United States, in which formerly it was a serious pest, counting its victims by thousands and trailing misery and panic and loss. For we now know enough about the conditions of its origin and spread to maintain effective safeguards. In the Southern States, however, while the old aimless and largely futile struggles against the disease when once it had gained a foothold can never come again, there is always the liability of costly and menacing local outbreaks so long as permanent nests of the disease exist in countries with which direct social or economic intercourse is maintained. The big, ever-threatening hotbeds of yellow fever at Havana and in Brazil are now in control and can be kept so at the price of intelligent and unremitting vigilance. But here and there in Mexico and South America and on the west coast of Africa it still lurks unguarded.

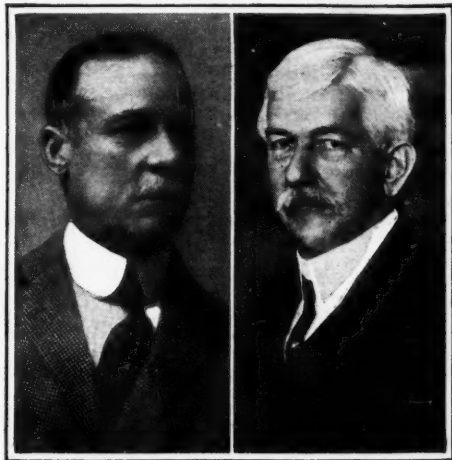
So the International Health Board of the Rockefeller Foundation, with its big achievements in the fight against the hookworm well in hand, with its tuberculosis first aid in France approaching completion, and busy with its great crusade against malaria, has found in its horoscope the promise of the suppression of yellow fever also, if the relatively few remaining lurking places of its germs can be cleaned up. To this end more knowledge of these germs is needed.

A Bit of History

In the early days yellow fever was to northern ports a hazard and to the South an ever-threatening peril, because no one knew what caused it or the exact conditions favoring its spread. Dr. Carlos J. Finlay, of Havana, who knew it from long personal experience, began to be suspicious of a cer-

tain mosquito as a carrying agent nearly forty years ago and came to believe that it was a germ disease, and for a time thought that he knew the germ. But the wise ones shook their heads and would have none of his mosquito or his germ. Various other microbes were brought to judgment and discharged for lack of evidence.

Dr. Alvah H. Doty, for many years the efficient and forward-looking Health Officer of the great port of New York, concluded from his long experience with ships hailing from yellow-fever countries, that whatever the inciting agent of the disease might be there was no good reason to believe that it contaminated the ships or their cargoes, or that it was conveyed by the clothing or effects of passengers. And so he stopped the wearisome and costly and bad-smelling disinfection and fumigation of them all, let the ships pass to their docks, and all unsuspecting passengers and their luggage go unmolested on their ways; to the great saving of time, money, and temper. Nothing untoward happened. But his break with the traditions sent cold shivers down the backs of hardened sanitarians who did not fail to rail at the temerity and the convictions of the Health Officer. They appealed to the Surgeon General in charge of the Federal Quarantine, but he was powerless to interfere with the rights of the sovereign State of New York, whose officer Doty was. They worried President Cleveland. It seemed so awful, to pass in old rags and soiled clothing without elaborate disinfection of both rags and ships on which they came. The President sent Doty to Egypt to study the dirtiest rags he knew of and the probabilities of their carrying infective stuff. Doty brought back his new facts and his undamaged convictions and the President agreed that they both fitted in with good common sense and bade him go his way. The fact is, it was no unconsidered whim, though baggage and cargoes and rags and soiled clothing and the big ships themselves were readily set free as not hazardous, except under very special conditions, even when from yellow-fever countries. Always before any passenger was allowed to leave the ship he was searched as passengers had never been searched before for evidence of actual or incipient disease. This was an early example of the practice, now becoming general, of regarding as hazards the persons rather than the surroundings or effects of those who may harbor infective germs, and marked the be-



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DR. ALVAH H. DOTY

(Early advocate of the theory that infective germs are carried by persons rather than by their clothing and other effects)

GEN. WM. C. GORGAS

(In charge of the American Army's sanitary work which eliminated yellow fever from Havana, 1898-1902)

ginning of the end of quarantine ship and cargo disinfection as the fetish which for years before it was.

So things went on, with no promising attempts to suppress the disease in its homes in Cuba and South America because no one knew what to do, until the prospect of a war with Spain in Cuba made it imperative for the United States Government to wake up and try and find out something about the incitant of yellow fever in the West Indies and what might be done to discourage it.

A Yellow-Fever Commission

Thus in 1900 a commission of medical officers of the United States Army, headed by Dr. Walter Reed, with Drs. James Carroll, Jesse W. Lazear, and Aristides Agramonte as associates, went down to Havana, where the fever flourished, and made a series of studies of cases and the conditions under which the disease is transmitted, so wisely planned, so courageously executed, and with such illuminating and beneficent results that the story is scarcely paralleled in all the annals of heroic achievement in science.

They concluded that there must be a living organism in the blood of yellow-fever victims in the early days of the disease. For by the transference of a small amount of the blood they could incite the malady in others. And they found that a mosquito—Finlay's mosquito (*Stegomyia*), which

science had sniffed at for a couple of decades—if allowed to bite a patient in the early days of his illness and then permitted to feed upon another susceptible person, could act as intermediary in conveying the infective living incitant.

They did not spare themselves, these devotees to science and humanity, and, following the bite of a purposely infected mosquito, Carroll was seriously ill of yellow fever, while Lazear, in a similar crucial experiment, died after a short illness. Reed, worn by his responsibilities and exacting tasks, died in 1902. His memory lives in the great Walter Reed Military Hospital at Arlington.

There was no lack of volunteers among the soldiers at the little pest camp, which they called Camp Lazear, where these dramatic studies were under way. One was just a private named Jernigan, who, after escaping unscathed the onslaught of some scientifically infected mosquitoes, turned up again when the call came for someone to volunteer to be injected with a syringe full of the blood from a virulent case of the fever. He came down this time, but got well. Another who survived a big dose of infected blood is known on the records only as J. M. B. There were many others in this heroic group who, undismayed, took their chances—and they were big ones—in this great game of disinterested service. Such human risks were necessary then, as they have been since, in the study of other infective maladies, because it did not at that time seem possible to induce yellow fever in the lower animals.

The Mosquito the Only Carrier

The commission could discover no way in which the germ of yellow fever is naturally conveyed from one to another, except by the mosquito. It is the female only which is to blame; for the male has so flabby a proboscis that he cannot get through the skin to suck blood, and so is a forlorn compulsory vegetarian. Thus the discovery is not new that "the female of the species is more deadly than the male." Apparently the mosquito is not at all unpleasantly affected by the, to us, sorely poisonous germs which she imbibes with the infected blood; and with her its transmission is only an incident in the day's work of getting an honest living.

It was proved that the disease actually is not to be conveyed by any form of the

most ruthless exposure of susceptible persons to the soiled clothing or even to discharges of the fever's victims, which hitherto had been regarded with horror as sources of desperate risk. Volunteers were not found wanting for even this supreme test of courage in the interest of science and humanity.

The Germ Still a Mystery

There was a little cabin built at Camp Lazear. It was 14 by 20 feet in size, with two little windows, wire-screened to keep mosquitoes out, and wooden-shuttered to keep away the salubrious sun by day lest it interfere with the tests. The temperature was kept above 90° Fahrenheit and the air was kept moist. Here three volunteer soldier men spent twenty nights shut up in the closest possible contact with bedding and clothing fresh from the beds and bodies of yellow-fever patients at the hospitals, and purposely grossly soiled with all forms of their excreta. By day the time was spent in tents. At the end these heroic three were cleaned up, quarantined for the proper period, and set free—all perfectly well.

Their names are Dr. Robert P. Cooke, Acting Assistant Surgeon, U. S. A., and two privates, Volk and Jernigan, all young Americans.

So ships and cargoes and well passengers and their effects were freed for all time from the thrall of the elder costly and futile quarantines, and so the mosquito was confirmed in his monopoly as a yellow-fever germ-carrier.

Dr. Finlay was right, only he was right for the wrong reason and too soon. Dr. Doty also was right on a basis of acute personal observation and uncommon common sense; and science and practical preventive medicine now stand beside them both.

These early studies did not get far enough to develop promising methods of treatment for the disease. Nor did they suggest ways of securing immunity in less hazardous fashion than through the successful weathering of an attack. For one doesn't have yellow fever twice. More than this, though it was clear enough from all clinical experience and laboratory and field experiment that yellow fever must be incited by some sort of germ, these experts could not find the thing, strive as they might. No microscopic search revealed it, and no attempt at culture, such as had been successful in trailing the organisms of other infections,

gave light or basis for further investigation. It was learned also that the germs must be very small, because they passed readily through the pores of porcelain filters, so minute that most microbes are held back. And it seemed possible that they might be so small as to be beyond the capacity of even microscopic vision.

The experimenters found that a mosquito which had sucked the blood of a yellow-fever patient in the first five days of the disease could not at once, on biting another, convey the infective agent, but only after the lapse of some twelve days. This observation, taken in connection with the excessive minuteness of the unknown organism, as shown by its passing the pores of a porcelain filter, led to the conjecture that the elusive germs might not be bacteria, which are plants, but one of the types of minute animal life, called protozoa, which sometimes assume excessively small spore-like forms as they pass through developmental phases in their lowly careers; and this takes a certain amount of time. Here the analogies of malaria, also a mosquito-borne and fostered parasite, were obvious, and the malarial microbe is a notorious protozoön.

How to Control Yellow Fever

From this knowledge of the mosquito as a carrier of the incitant of yellow fever and, apparently, its only source, it was clear that the way to prevent the spread of the disease was either by keeping the mosquitoes from getting at patients in the early days of their illness through the effective screening of windows and doors, or by killing as many of the pests as possible and discouraging the breeding of the rest by cleaning up

the puddles and old cans of water near dwellings in which they breed and near which they love to linger all their lives with the pertinacity of household cats.

All these measures of safety were applied in Havana by General Gorgas in the days following these remarkable studies. They have been practised since in New Orleans, in Vera Cruz, in Rio de Janeiro. At Panama General Gorgas made the building of the great canal possible through the effective use of the new safeguards. So yellow fever, the dread pest of the ages, has been practically eliminated from its most menacing lurking places.

A Challenge to Science

It was, indeed, a great achievement to have learned how to check the ravages and spread of so desperate a pestilence. But the possibilities of further gain were alluring, if only the germ itself could be discovered. For then new methods of cure would be possible, the prospect of securing artificial immunity would be good, more effective and less costly sanitary measures of safety would be practicable, and great fruitful countries could be redeemed for economic uses from the thrall of this perpetual blight.

It was tantalizing to be so near and yet so far from the last step which might form a safe and ready vantage ground for new achievements. Every thimbleful of blood from a fever patient in the first five days of the disease, every mosquito which had fed upon him and become a carrier, might harbor this peccant and elusive thing, but no one could find it. This was a monstrous challenge to science, and ever since it has rankled in the souls of self-respecting dev-



CAMP LAZEAR, NEAR HAVANA, WHERE TRANSMISSION OF THE YELLOW-FEVER GERM BY THE MOSQUITO WAS FOR THE FIRST TIME DEFINITELY PROVEN

(In the cabin, at the right, it was proven that contaminated clothing, bedding, etc., do not convey the yellow-fever germ to man)



DR. HIDEYO NOGUCHI, THE SUCCESSFUL HUNTER OF BACTERIA IN INFECTIOUS DISEASES

(Dr. Noguchi has gone to Yucatan, at the request of the local authorities, to study the yellow-fever problem there—as he had done last year for the city of Guayaquil, Ecuador. Educated in the schools of Japan and in the Tokio Medical College, Dr. Noguchi came to the United States about ten years ago and almost at once became associated with the Rockefeller Institute for Medical Research in New York City.)

otees, that so definite and demonstrable a living thing as this yellow-fever germ must be could hide itself away in a drop of blood or in the carcass of a beggarly mosquito.

Noguchi Follows the Trail

Thus the request last year from Ecuador for counsel and assistance in solving the problems which were so sore a burden at Guayaquil was a lure to science and a mandate to humanity which the Rockefeller Foundation and the Rockefeller Institute cheerfully followed. Dr. Noguchi, the accomplished Japanese bacteriologist on the staff of the Institute, had long been a successful hunter of obscure bacterial incitants of infectious diseases, and, by his masterly command of cultural technique and his no less masterly patience and untiring devotion to his aims, has thrown light into many dark corners of biology. Furthermore, Dr. Noguchi was well acquainted with a disease called infectious jaundice, which a good deal resembles yellow fever. It is one of the diseases whose origin has only recently been

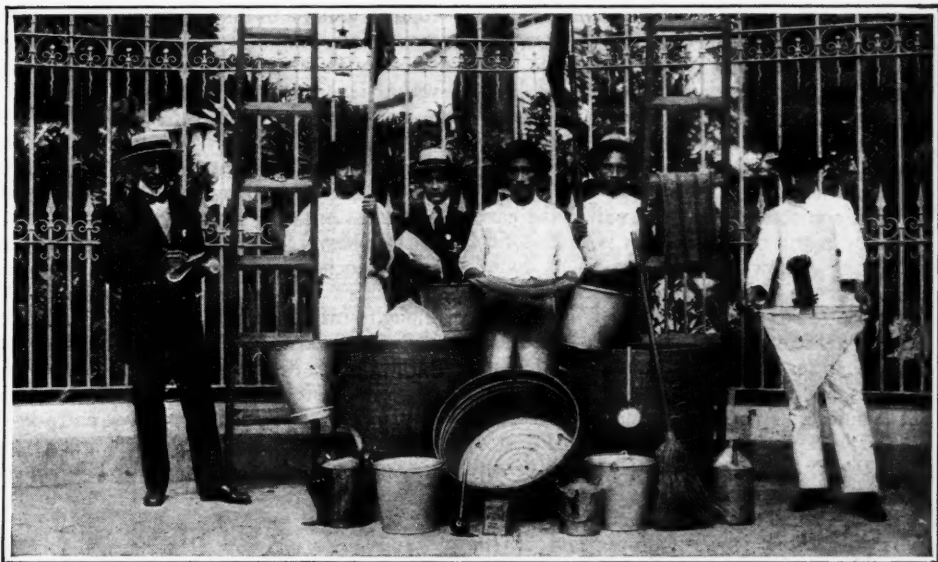
traced. The inciting germ—called *Leptospira*—is a spiral mobile thing, parasitic in rats and other wild animals. In insanitary places frequented by these animals it may gain access to the bodies of humans and incite serious and fatal disease. This had been first cultivated in Japan by the use of a special technical procedure devised by Dr. Noguchi.

So Noguchi, the logical leader of such an expedition, and his associates were welcomed at Guayaquil last year by a group of eminent physicians who were past masters in the detection and treatment of yellow fever and eager to be helpful, as indeed they were, in this new attempt to unearth the secret of this elusive pest-breeder. There was plenty of yellow fever in the hospital at Guayaquil, and masters in its detection always at hand. It was risky work, but these later devotees used such safeguards as the pioneers had made available and took the chances. It was science and experience and invincible courage and pertinacity against an ancient stronghold of ignorance, and this is how it came out.

The Germ Found

Noguchi succeeded where the earlier workers had failed by inducing in guinea pigs, through the transference to them of a small quantity of the blood of yellow-fever patients in the earlier days of their attack, symptoms and changes quite similar to those of the human disease. The pigs speedily developed fever, they grew yellow, they became torpid and very sick, and many of them presently died, their organs showing characteristic changes. The blood of these experimental victims conveyed to other guinea pigs induced the disease anew through many sequences, and in this infected guinea-pig blood was detected by the microscope a minute organism resembling the *Leptospira* of infectious jaundice. Young dogs and monkeys were also found to be susceptible to inoculation with yellow-fever blood.

Finally Noguchi succeeded in cultivating from the blood, at first of his artificially infected pigs and then of man, a living organism which he carried on through many successive generations in his culture tubes, and from which by inoculation he could induce the identical fatal disease in the guinea pig. This germ is not easy to cultivate, for it is finicky about its diet and environment and sulks and dies on the slightest provocation. The method of cultivation used was



AT GUAYAQUIL, ECUADOR—AN ANTI-MOSQUITO SQUAD, WITH IMPLEMENTS USED TO GOOD EFFECT IN THE YELLOW-FEVER CAMPAIGN

(It was at Guayaquil that Dr. Noguchi, through tireless experiments, found and cultivated the germ which incites yellow fever)

that through which the germ of infectious jaundice was discovered and need not be described here.

Its Name and Ways

The new germ is a very delicate, filamentous, spiral thing, tapering at the ends, and, when alive, goes wriggling, rotating, and twisting about in the blood or culture food. Not ordinarily visible when alive by direct light, even with the strongest lenses, it may be seen with what is called "dark field illumination," not known to the earlier observers, and then it looks to the straining vision like a shadowy wriggle rather than a definite object. Noguchi called it *Leptospira* (meaning slender spiral) after its close relative of infectious jaundice. And, to signalize its power to induce in its victims the characteristic jaundice, or yellow color of the skin, he surnamed it *icteroides*. So it takes its place in science as *Leptospira icteroides*, alias, in the vernacular, Slim-spiral, the jaundice-maker.

It may be cultivated from the blood and tissues of yellow-fever patients and of infected guinea pigs. Inoculation of the cultures induces the fatal typical infection in guinea pigs, from whose bodies the living germs may again be isolated. It was found to pass through the minute pores of a porce-

lain filter. Experiments on guinea pigs show that inoculations with yellow-fever blood, or with cultures of the new-found microbe which were not fatal, conferred a notable degree of immunity to subsequent infection. Tests with the blood serum of convalescent yellow-fever patients indicated that the organism which he had found was probably the inciting agent of the disease.

Having thus established a series of important facts indicating that the new-found *Leptospira* is at least the presumptive incitant of yellow fever in Guayaquil, Noguchi naturally got on the trail of the *Stegomyia* mosquito, which is quite at home, of course, in such a tropical region, and, as usual where the fever flourishes, on the job. His experiments showed that symptoms and tissue changes similar to those of yellow fever in man may be induced in guinea pigs by the bite of female *Stegomyias* which have previously sucked the blood of a yellow-fever patient or of another guinea pig artificially infected. But he found that mosquitoes which had bitten infected guinea pigs could convey the infective agent within eight days, which is strikingly less than the twelve days which the Havana researches had shown to be necessary before effective transfer by mosquitoes which have bitten fever patients could take place. This discrepancy might be ac-

counted for by the observation, which Noguchi made—and which, of course, the earlier workers had no chance to do since they did not succeed in infecting the lower animals at all—that the blood of infected pigs may contain vastly greater numbers of the *Leptospira* than does that of yellow-fever patients.

The conjecture was ventured in the early days by many of the wise ones in this field that the yellow-fever germ, when found, would prove to be, not a bacterium among the plants, but a protozoön, that is, a lowly animal; because it is mosquito-borne and has other features in common with that notorious and well-known protozoön parasite of malaria. Anent this, one may recall a too little regarded quirk of our genial doctor-philosopher, Oliver Wendell Holmes; who said, "Observation may trip now and then without throwing you, for her gait is a walk; but inference always gallops, and if she stumbles you're gone." It is interesting to note in this connection, and just to show how exasperating Nature can be, that the little group of microörganisms in which Dr. Noguchi's *Leptospira* of yellow fever belongs seems to dwell in a sort of No Man's Land of classification, between animals and plants, neither straight protozoa nor proper bacteria, and of questionable lineage and relationship in the hierarchy of life.

Fresh Fields

Of course, on the return from such a field research, there are usually many questions left unanswered and various experiments to be completed in the laboratory, with perhaps new leads to follow. So it is understood that Dr. Noguchi has been at work since his return in unraveling the life history of this, his newest addition to the

rogue's gallery of microscopic human pests, and in searching for the possibilities of developing an effective immunizing or curative yellow-fever serum.

Yellow fever and infectious jaundice have certain resemblances which are interesting in view of the apparent close relationship of the spiral germs which have been found in each. And it is noteworthy that Dr. Noguchi discovered spirals, believed to be those which incite infective jaundice, inhabiting the bodies of the rats of Guayaquil. So, though infective jaundice has not been known to exist at Guayaquil, the relationships, if any, between these two diseases and between their inciting agents ought to be cleared up. For science is very keen to learn about the cousinships of diseases and of disease germs, because the more we know about their stories the better chance there is to banish both.

It is not usual for scientific men to make claims of discovery, but to work out details and describe observations; and when the cards are on the table, face up, it is for their fellow experts to pass judgment on the evidence. Several brief publications have set forth a summary of this new work as far as it has gone. The study of more cases in a new locality is desirable; the checking up of experiments by repetition is necessary for confirmation, and the chances of new light are always welcome. To secure all or any of these, and to lend a hand to the brethren who are still under the cloud, are the motives of the new expedition to Yucatan on which Dr. Noguchi and Dr. Kligler recently set out, with the good wishes of their colleagues of the Rockefeller Institute, and it is hoped also of the Man in the Street, whose receptive range admits no limit and whose interest in something never flags.



THE RECONSTRUCTION OF RAILROAD SERVICE

BY SAMUEL O. DUNN

(Editor of the *Railway Age*)

THE railways are again under private management. Just before their return to their owners there was passed by Congress the most comprehensive, important, and constructive railroad legislation ever enacted. It affords the first example of legislation designed not only to prevent the railways from doing things inimical to the public, but also to help them do things that are essential to the welfare of the public.

A few years ago many thought the railways were inefficiently operated under private management and would be better operated under government management. After an actual trial of government management a large majority of the people lost whatever faith they had in that policy. The confidence of many in the superiority of private management apparently has risen so high that they have expected that its resumption, if sound legislation previously had been passed, would be followed immediately by improvements in service and reductions of expenses.

No one believes more strongly in the superiority of private management than the writer. He is confident improvements in service and increases in operating efficiency will soon begin to appear, and will become more marked as time passes. But the public may easily raise too high its expectations as to the near future. The railroad managements and the Interstate Commerce Commission are confronted by numerous problems unprecedented in their nature and difficulty. They are a legacy from bad private management in some cases, and from unwise regulation, government management, and the war. They must be solved before substantial economies can be made or railroad service can be satisfactorily reconstructed. Public expectations that service will soon be made as good as formerly would be disappointed, and might result in an unfortunate revulsion of sentiment

against the new system of railroad regulation and management before it had been given a real trial.

The quantity and quality of the service railways can render depend upon the number of their locomotives and cars, the mileage of their lines and tracks, and the amount of their other facilities; and upon the efficiency with which they are operated. The most striking facts in the recent history of our railways are those showing how much greater have been the increases in the demands for service than the increases in the facilities for rendering it. There was complaint from railway managers during the ten years from 1905 to 1915 that the policy of regulation being followed was preventing adequate investment in railroads. These complaints were well founded. During that decade the increase in the amount of freight handled was 61 per cent., while the increase in the number of freight cars in service was only 36 per cent. The increase in the amount of passenger traffic carried was 48 per cent., while the increase in the number of passenger cars was only 35 per cent. The increase in the number of locomotives was only 30 per cent.

Consequently, at the end of 1915, railway facilities had become inadequate to handling satisfactorily the commerce of the country when its industries were producing close to their maximum capacity. But it is since 1915 that the demands of business have most seriously outstripped the growth of railway facilities. Since then the freight and passenger traffic actually handled has increased 45 per cent. The number of locomotives and cars has increased only about 2 per cent.; and other facilities in proportion.

That there has been such a large increase in the business handled while there has been such a small increase in railroad capacity shows there has been a great advance in

operating efficiency. But the increase in operating efficiency is not the only reason why there has been such a large increase in the traffic moved. Shippers have helped by putting larger average loads in cars. Of course, the more freight there is loaded in each car, the greater is the amount handled with a given number of cars. Furthermore, conditions have enforced a more uniform movement of traffic throughout the year.

When the growth of railroad facilities was almost keeping pace with the growth of business, the movement of freight was highly seasonal. There were usually about four months in each fall and winter when the carriers were overtaxed. These were normally followed by about eight months of lighter traffic and "car surpluses." Throughout the last four years—excepting last spring, when the traffic of war had sharply declined and the "non-essential" traffic of peace was only beginning to revive—there has been a chronic "car shortage." Since all the freight offered for transportation in the months when the traffic usually is heavy could not be moved then, a large part of it has been held back and handled during the months when in former years the movement of freight ordinarily was light. Of course, when the railways can work to their maximum capacity throughout the year they can handle more business than when they can work to their maximum capacity only four or five months in a year.

However great, from the standpoint of the railways, may be the advantages of moving a uniform business throughout the year, such conditions as recently have caused it to be done have serious disadvantages from the standpoint of many farmers and business concerns. The failure or success of the year's business of many men and concerns, and their ability to keep their workers employed, are often dependent on their ability to obtain raw materials or goods, or to ship the products of their farms or factories at the particular times when market or other conditions are favorable.

Besides, there is a limit beyond which the amount of traffic that can be handled cannot be increased merely by augmenting operating efficiency, increasing the carload, or making the movement of traffic more uniform. We have seen that limit reached. The average load per car in 1918 broke all records; and there probably never will be a more uniform freight movement than there was then. The Railroad Administration kept in the service

of the railroads the best operating talent available; and these men worked with a loyalty and enthusiasm inspired by the fact that they were helping to win the war. The administration disregarded the law-made restrictions that had hampered private management, largely disregarded considerations of expense, and exercised all the power of the national government. Yet the amount of freight moved was only 2 per cent. more than in 1917.

Since the great revival of freight business last summer the railways never have been able to accept all the traffic offered. Mines and mills have been forced to reduce their output or shut down because they could not get enough transportation. The coal business ordinarily affords 35 per cent. of the total freight. How great was the accumulation of commodities of other kinds awaiting transportation last fall is indicated by the fact that, although most of the bituminous mines were closed during November and most of December by the strike, the amount of freight moved was almost as great in those two months as ever before. There has been allowed to accrue an enormous deficiency of facilities which must be made up before the railways ever again, in times of business activity, will be able to handle satisfactorily all the freight offered.

The conditions as respects passenger business are equally bad. The Railroad Administration, during more than two years of government control, never bought a passenger car. Meantime, there was an unprecedented increase of travel. The results are the shabby appearance of many cars and the overcrowding and other discomforts of trains, which are experienced by everybody who travels.

If Congress had made prompt and adequate appropriations, and the Railroad Administration had expended them wisely, a good start would have been made in 1919, when the war was over, in reducing the deficiency of facilities and reconstructing the service. But Congress gave the Railroad Administration no appropriation until mid-summer. It then gave it \$500,000,000 less than it asked. Almost the entire task of reconstructing service has been passed along to the railroad companies.

Now, it takes weeks to prepare the annual budget of a railroad company. Arrangements must then be made for getting the necessary capital, organizations for doing the construction and improvement work must be

formed, and labor must be secured. Orders must be placed with the manufacturers for equipment and supplies; and before the manufacturers can start work on orders they must get their labor and materials. For these reasons the railway companies usually make up toward the end of one year the budgets of additions and improvements intended to be carried out the next year, and begin soon afterward forming their construction organizations and placing their orders for equipment and materials. This program could not be followed this year because the companies did not know until the end of February on what terms the railways were coming back, or, indeed, whether they were coming back at all. Therefore, this year the commencement of improvement work and orders for equipment will be so much delayed that it is doubtful if much of the work will be done or much of the equipment ordered will be delivered in time to be useful in handling the business of 1920.

Congress has appropriated \$300,000,000 from which loans can be made to the railways at once to help tide them over the period of transition from government to private control; and this will enable some equipment to be ordered and some improvement work to be begun without the delays occasioned by the necessity of raising new capital in the open market. But the railways require 2000 locomotives, 4000 passenger cars, and 100,000 freight cars annually merely to replace those which are worn out; and this equipment alone would at present prices cost \$500,000,000. The loans provided for by Congress will be helpful, but the amount of help they will give will be small. General conditions in the financial market were so bad when the roads were returned to the companies as to render it almost impossible for concerns of any kind to sell large amounts of new stocks or bonds at reasonable prices. But the need for a large increase of railway facilities is immediate and imperative. Therefore, the companies have made plans to ask Congress for legislation to increase the amount that the government may loan them.

To enable the railways to render in 1920 a passenger and freight service anywhere near adequate it will be necessary for all their equipment and other facilities to be used with unexampled efficiency. This will require the hardest and ablest work possible by their officers and employees; a minimum of merely competitive rivalries and a maxi-

mum of coöperation between the various roads; the maximum practicable loading of cars by shippers, and a minimum of demands and a maximum of patience on the part of the traveling public.

Coöperation Replaces Competition

Fortunately, the new legislation repeals the Sherman Anti-Trust law, as it applied to railways, and the anti-pooling section of the Interstate Commerce act. Instead of unrestricted railroad competition being required, as formerly, close coöperation and even consolidation are encouraged. Competition is necessary, in the long run, to securing the best service. But extreme competitive rivalries result under some conditions in the service of individual roads being made good at the cost of the service of the railways as a whole. At a time such as this, when the rendering of the largest practicable service is the great desideratum, coöperation between the railways is more beneficial.

The railways undoubtedly will coöperate among themselves and be able to get coöperation from the shippers in the heavy loading of cars. Probably as time goes on the railways will take advantage on a large scale of the opportunities to consolidate which the law affords. However, developments of this kind cannot come in the immediate future, since before consolidations can be made the Interstate Commerce Commission must draw up a general plan in accordance with which all the consolidations made must be effected. The organizations of the railroad employees opposed the return to private operation, and also the legislation under which it was made. The propaganda against private management and for the Plumb plan doubtless will be continued. The effects this will have on the relations between the companies and the employees, upon the efficiency of the latter's work, and upon railway service is a question of importance. My own belief is that when the employees find that no general reductions of their wages are even considered, the relations between them and the companies will begin to return to normal, their efficiency will increase, and propaganda among them against private management will grow less and less effective.

Increased Facilities Required

While some improvements in railway service undoubtedly will be made in the near future, the really great improvements which

are needed can, for reasons already indicated, be secured only by corresponding increases in facilities. The *Railway Age* recently made an estimate, based on past experience, regarding the facilities which should be provided within three years to remedy the existing deficiency and to provide for dealing with the increase of traffic which should normally occur during these three years. Its estimates of the facilities which should be provided by the end of 1922, together with the amounts of new capital which, at present wages and prices, would be required to provide them, are as follows:

15,000 miles of multiple main tracks, and	
40,000 miles of side tracks and yard tracks	\$1,250,000,000
Grade revision, cut-offs, elimination of curvature, etc.	600,000,000
Enginehouses and shops	250,000,000
Station buildings	300,000,000
6,000 miles of new main line	600,000,000
10,850 miles of automatic block signals	52,264,000
712,400 Freight cars	1,662,000,000
24,500 Passenger cars	532,000,000
Shop equipment	61,230,000
13,200 Locomotives	702,786,000
Total	\$6,010,280,000

How Will Capital Be Secured?

The main object of Congress in drafting the new legislation was to make it as near certain as practicable that the railways would be allowed to earn a return sufficient to enable them to raise enough capital adequately to increase their facilities. The Interstate Commerce Commission was directed to divide the railways into groups; to determine what percentage of return they should be allowed to earn on their combined valuations, and to fix rates which would enable them to earn this predetermined return. Until March 1, 1922, the Commission must let the roads of each group earn $5\frac{1}{2}$ per cent.; and it may let them earn an additional one-half of 1 per cent., to be invested directly in improvements. Individual railways that earn over 6 per cent. must pay one-half of the excess into a general railroad contingent fund, from which the Commission may make loans to railways or buy equipment for lease to them. Until the valuation it is making is finished the Commission may make use of the "book cost" of the carriers as a basis for determining the earnings that should be allowed.

It is impossible now to say how the railways will be grouped for rate-making purposes, or how large the advances in rates in different territories will be. The total "book cost" is now about \$19,500,000,000. It would require \$1,170,000,000 net operating income to yield an average of 6 per cent. on this. The net operating income of the Class 1 railways—all the large roads—in 1919 was \$516,000,000. This indicates need for an increase in freight rates—if no advances are made in passenger rates—of approximately \$700,000,000, or an average of about 20 per cent. Further advances in wages, or other increases of costs, would necessitate a still larger increase.

Will this legislation enable the railways to raise enough capital to expand their facilities and reconstruct their service? Recently railway bonds and stocks have sold extremely low—bonds at prices yielding the purchaser 6 per cent or more; stocks on which dividends have been regularly paid for years at prices yielding 7 to 10 per cent. This has been due to uncertainty as to the future of the railways and to general financial conditions. The uncertainty as to the future of the railways has been largely removed. The return the new legislation requires them to be permitted to earn for two years is as large as they ever earned in the past for any considerable period. It is not reasonable to assume that the Interstate Commerce Commission will, for some years at least, reduce the return allowed. It appears doubtful if the railways that are required to pay part of their surplus earnings into a general contingent fund will find this a serious handicap in financing.

On the whole, it would seem that the ability of the railways to raise capital, expand their facilities, and improve their service will depend more on general financial conditions than on conditions peculiarly affecting them. The existing income-tax laws render many former large investors in railway securities indisposed to buy anything now except tax-free government bonds. When the railways try to buy materials and employ labor for improvement work on a large scale they will find them both unprecedentedly scarce and expensive. But many investors and manufacturers of materials seem likely to recognize that the growth of the country's industries is dependent on the increase of the capacity of the railways, and, in consequence, to favor them both in making investments and in selling materials.

A WORLD-WIDE RAILROAD SYSTEM

REORGANIZATION, UNIFICATION AND NEW RELATIONS TO THE PUBLIC
COMING EVERYWHERE AS RESULTS OF THE WAR

BY JUDSON C. WELLIVER

ONE result of the war, it is already apparent, is to be a revolutionary change in the organization of the world's railroads, their rapid development into something like a universal system, and a new recognition of their international importance.

The return of American railroads to their owners, with legislation extending Government guarantees of financial support and in return imposing more rigorous conditions of Government control, is typical of the new relations of the railroads and the state everywhere.

Even the most casual survey of the new railroad conditions in the world must impress the fact that striking changes are already taking place, which point to yet wider departures hereafter from old conceptions of the iron highway's place in the scheme of the reconstructed world.

As to economic and industrial organization, it is frankly enough recognized that the present period represents the end and the beginning of an era. What the readjusted world will be like, what it ought to be like, is the question on which men's differences are dividing them into new political parties and new schools of economic thought. Whatever may clearly indicate the directions of the new movement, the controlling purposes at the beginning of the new era, is of profound interest; and there is good reason to say that no other index to these tendencies has thus far shadowed forth so definite an outline of what lies ahead as may be described in a consideration of what is happening to the railroads.

Our Dependence on Transportation

The war has left most railroads worn out, or bankrupt, or both. It has greatly changed their relation to the public, or at least the public's conception of that relation. Largely because railroads are now unequal to the

tasks demanded of them, millions of people face starvation, states totter on their governmental foundations, systems are under critical examination as to their right and capacity to perpetuate themselves. In the railroads may be studied a cross section of almost all the problems of finance, of relations between labor and management and the state, of inadequate equipment, shortage in materials, decreased production, and suddenly vastly increased demands for service.

The world knows as never before how dependent is its complex modern economic system on transportation, and how insecure are its transportation facilities. Railroads and shipping divided the transportation burden, and even before the war both were pressed to meet demands. Especially was that true of railroads. The war stopped expansion and wrecked much of the old plant. A British White Paper states the maritime shipping losses, British, allied, and neutral, during the war, by enemy action and marine risk, at 15,058,786 tons. The world had about 49,000,000 tons to begin with, so the loss was near one-third. New construction was given as 10,849,527 tons. But that new construction would have been needed, and produced, to meet normal expansions of business, even if there had been no war.

War Burdens of the Railroads

The deficit in ocean-going capacity has been compensated partly by relentlessly cutting the volume of shipments and travel, partly by increasing the share of railroads and motor highways. The increased burden of the railroads has been vast. A British Parliamentary authority states that 55,000,000 additional annual tons were thrown on the kingdom's railroads because of the reduction in coastwise shipping. Thus transportation economies in passenger and

non-essential freight movement were cancelled by the increase in tonnage of vital essentials that must be moved by rail. London, for instance, had its passenger service much reduced, and much freight was eliminated; but on the other hand, it had to get nearly all its coal by rail during the war, whereas formerly about six-sevenths of it came by sea.

Not only did the sea lose its security during the war, but that security is not restored by the peace. With all its pretensions of lofty purpose to inaugurate a new day of peace and universal security, the Versailles treaty does nothing whatever to insure against a repetition of submarine destruction in a future war. The Entente powers declined to have Versailles discuss "freedom of the seas." Nothing has been done to outlaw the submarine, and so, tacitly at least, the precedent of the German campaign is accepted. With the most elaborate and ambitious of "world settlements" making no reference to submarine methods and excesses, can it be doubted that any national malefactor of the seas will in future claim right to do what Germany has done?

Confronting the probability that the same thing will happen again, the world sees the need to consolidate, unify, and closely knit together its railroads so that if necessary they can in emergency carry the greater tonnage that would be thrown upon them by any interference with sea traffic. This means development of continental systems, and of intercontinental linkings; it means tunnels under the English Channel and the Straits of Gibraltar, and, one day, under Bering Strait. It means that railroads must hereafter be both strategic and economic facilities.

South American Railroad Projects

On the western continent, a corresponding development is the serious revival of interest and effort, especially in South America, in a Pan-American railway. During the war, South American railroad construction well nigh ceased, but measures for developing a real continental system, connected with the Central and North American systems, received great impetus. A rail line from Magellan to the Arctic Circle, about 10,000 miles, would make the trip possible in sixteen to eighteen days. Since President Roosevelt, in 1903, sent a commission to investigate the subject, much progress has been made. It is calculated that about

10,100 miles of lines would connect New York and Buenos Aires; of which 6661 miles are already constructed, and of the remainder various sections are planned or under construction.

South America illustrates the changed situation regarding railway finance. Before the war, European and American capital was largely relied upon. For a considerable time, at least, Europe will be unable to carry a large part in such enterprises, and in South America, as almost everywhere else, the tendency is to place government financial resources back of railroad construction.

The Tendency to Public Control

This assumption by government of responsibility for railroad financing has gone so far that it may be said that, in the old pre-war sense, there are few privately controlled railways left in the world. A German survey in 1913 showed 464,421 miles of privately owned and 225,711 miles of state railways in the world. Outside of the United States, which had 256,823 miles, all privately owned, or 37 per cent. of the world's mileage, the mileage of state-owned railways considerably exceeded that of the privately owned. Since then, Canada has proceeded far toward frankly nationalizing its roads. Great Britain has not gone so far, but its policy tends the same way. The reconstruction measures adopted in France since the war leave the formerly privately owned lines with rather less independence than remains to the American roads under the Cummins-Esch law. Nationalization is everywhere the tendency.

Europe in 1913 had 100,285 miles of privately and 116,111 of publicly owned railroads. The latter included most of the mileage in Germany, Austria-Hungary, Italy, Russia, Norway, Serbia, Rumania, Bulgaria. Great Britain, Turkey, Greece and Spain had only privately owned roads. France and Sweden had both, with private ownership of the greater part. The two systems pretty equally divided the mileage in Belgium, Holland, Switzerland, Portugal, and Denmark.

America had more than half the world's railroads—356,000 miles, of which public ownership claimed only 28,223, chiefly in Mexico, Peru, Chile, Argentina, Brazil and Canada.

Asia had 44,292 miles of state and 23,298 of private roads. State lines predominated

in India, Japan, Siberia, Siam, and the Dutch Indies; private ownership in China, Ceylon, Asia Minor, Cochin-China, and the Malay States.

Africa was credited with 11,129 miles of private and 16,564 of state roads. The Union of South Africa had about 8000 miles of state and 3200 of private lines. All the German colonies had state ownership exclusively; the French, Italian, and Portuguese colonies had exclusively private mileage; the remaining small lines were pretty evenly divided. Australasia had 20,421 state and 1615 privately owned miles.

The Great Problem of Rehabilitation

From the beginning of the war, the world overlooked and underfed its railroads. They were the first utilities to be seized and turned to public use; they were remorselessly squeezed. Inadequate to meet requirements even before the war, they had for five years a maximum taken out of them and a minimum put in. Everywhere governments are struggling with the problem of their rehabilitation. After less than two years' actual participation in the war, without any of the actual military destruction that was inflicted on railroads throughout large European areas, it has been often said that our railroad problem is the largest single one of the era of reconstruction. Yet America was better able to provide more money, rails, cars, locomotives, than any other country. The scheme and system of our roads have not been disturbed; whereas in Europe, Africa, the Near East, changes of political boundaries and the redistribution of economic resources in relation to sovereignties and transportation facilities have been so revolutionary that it may fairly be said that the railroads—what is left of them—have no logical relation to the requirements of their communities.

Readjusting Railroad Systems to the New Map of Europe

A group of men around a table at Paris drew some lines and wrote some clauses, and thereby restored the Kingdom of Poland to the map. Piecing together parts of three old empires into a restored Poland, and drawing a red line around it, was simple enough. But in that restored Poland were fragments of three railroad systems. The Germans had built political and strategic railroads in German Poland. The Russians and Austrians had done the same in their

parts. Now, Poland, restored to something like its old political unity, but without money, credit, or economic organization, finds itself compelled to reform its transportation system.

This Polish situation is a sample of what has happened to Europe. When the Polish partitions were completed, the three divisions of the country had become stepchildren in strange families, to be disciplined, subjugated, assimilated. The Germans directed railroad development, in their part of Poland, to strengthen the ties that held it to them, and weaken those that were reminiscent of the old national unity. Commercial, social, and political relations run along railroad lines as truly as the brain's impulses are communicated through the nerves. A large part of the international boundary between Germany and Russia was a line through the heart of old Poland. Russia and Germany always faced the possibility of a war, and each built its railroads in Polish territory, with reference to this. Germany, which earliest of all the states conceived the part railroads would play in war, wanted to be able to run its trains straight across the international boundary, using the enemy's railroads. Russia feared exactly this. So while Germany built its railroads on a gauge of 4 feet 8½ inches, Russia built on that of 5 feet. The Germans ringed Russian Poland with strategic railroads, and devised a system of light railways with narrow tracks and tiny cars and locomotives, to be laid rapidly in occupied territory. The Russians arranged, in most cases, that direct lines should not cross the international boundary, and laid out their own strategic system. It has many times been said that one reason Germany started the war in 1914 was the approaching completion of this Russian transportation program.

At the international boundary a Russian road would come to track's end at some insignificant village or military post; and the same was true of the German roads. These termini on opposite sides did not match; the Russians did not want to provide rails with which the enemy might easily connect. The Germans even devised a system of changeable wheels and axles, to adjust their cars and locomotives to the wider Russian gauge. This made it the more necessary for the Russians to keep their termini as far from the German termini as possible.

In all this strategic game the first thought was political and military; the last was to

develop a railroad system to serve the people of the different sections of Poland. So when we read that the Polish Government is now operating somewhat over 7000 miles of railroad that were turned over to it by the treaty of Versailles, we may erroneously conclude that Poland starts pretty well equipped. In fact, it has no railroad system at all, and confronts the need both to weld the existing fragments into a system and to equip it. The railway administration found only 1700 usable locomotives, about 3800 passenger and 31,694 freight cars. It needed 7000 more locomotives, 176,000 freight and 17,660 passenger cars! It lacks shops, repair establishments, and machine tools.

Poland Must Build a New System

Current operations result in a regular monthly deficit for the Polish railroads, as indeed for those of almost every other country. In the first four months of 1919 revenues aggregated 162,000,000 Polish marks, expenditures 247,000,000. Passenger rates are perhaps the lowest in the world. One may travel 310 miles, first class, in the Krakow district, for 78.75 crowns, equivalent to about \$1.30.

One of the worst features is that the railroads are largely in the wrong places. Undeveloped and sparsely populated districts are often better provided than areas of large population and production. The railroad authorities aim to build new lines as fast as possible to systematize the roads and connect them with the German, Austrian, and Russian systems. Generations before railroads were dreamed of, Poland was commercially important because it lay in the path of the great caravan traffic between the East and the Free Cities of the Baltic region. Poland has an acute apprehension of the advantages of reestablishing that relationship; particularly of making itself the gateway to the rehabilitated Russia that will one day be buying largely from and selling in like proportion to most of the western nations.

Difficulties of Other European States

Poland's railroad problem suggests what most of Europe faces. Other new or reorganized states are in the same case. Czechoslovakia inherits fragments of transportation systems designed for an entirely different political and economic scheme than is now in effect. The same is true of Yugoslavia, of Rumania, of Austria, and of Hungary. In

one area political unity is given, without any corresponding unity in means of communication; in another a long-established unity, to which transportation systems had adapted themselves, is wrenched apart. Mr. Hoover, seeking to feed Budapest at a time of crisis, had food at Trieste, and a railroad from there into Hungary—and yet could not move the food because a new international boundary had been interposed, a new national control was in possession of part of his railroad, and Italian control at the Trieste end had other uses for the railroad. After the Armistice had become effective, all the states, little and big, in central Europe, adopted the policy of holding fast to such rolling stock as they had, and seizing whatever might come their way.

The Russian railroad breakdown appears most nearly complete. Always inadequate, the roads have been without fuel, cars, power, lubricants, everything, with the result that people have starved in some sections while surplus foods went to waste in others only a little way distant.

To the extent that they can be executed, the terms of the peace treaty increase some difficulties of the situation. Thus Germany is required in ceded territory to turn over the railroads, with full normal equipment of motive power and cars. If this clause were strictly enforced, Germany would have to provide, out of its poverty of equipment, a full supply for the ceded parts of Poland, Alsace-Lorraine, and Schleswig. This quite aside from the requirement that Germany turn over to the Allies 5000 locomotives and 150,000 cars. This latter provision has crowded sidings in parts of France with locomotives and cars that cannot be used, while other parts of the Continent are well-nigh stripped. It was stated that at one time all Rumania, with over 2300 miles of railroad, had only eighty-four locomotives fit for service.

Pre-War Mistakes in Railroad-Building

If we were able to look back from the eminence of a century hence, we would probably note that the World War marked the end of the haphazard era of railroad provision for the world. Down to that war, we would note, railroad development had been dominated in many countries by the promoters, speculators, and financiers. Some roads had been built without economic justification; others that were really needed had not been built at all. Distorted development

had resulted in many directions; undue congestion of population, industry, and commerce in places favored by rates and facilities; neglect of other areas; unwise competition in both construction and service.

Equally unfortunate were other countries where railway development had been influenced by strategic, imperialistic, and political factors. This would be true not only of Europe, but generally of colonial possessions throughout the world, and of railroads built by alien concessionaires in Asia.

Continental Aspects of Railroad Development

Our observer of a century hence will conclude that these old methods and their unfortunate effects were only dimly understood, even at the end of the war. Nevertheless, he will find that with the peace came a disposition to systematize the railroads of great areas; to give Europe a real system, of continental proportions; to link the systems of Europe and Asia; to put the further construction of African roads more nearly on a basis corresponding to economic requirements, instead of building roads with political control primarily in mind. He will find that the post-war era gradually recognized that the railroads have a larger than merely national importance and character.

Americans, whose country is so big that they have had little occasion to deal with neighbors, have paid little attention to the procedure by which transportation in Europe has slowly and painfully gained recognition as a continental affair. The series of Conventions of Berne, from 1890 down to 1906, marked the creation of a sort of Interstate Commerce Commission for Europe, its seat at Berne. It has striven against great difficulties to minimize the obstacles which boundary lines, tariffs, national prejudices, and military obsessions have created. It has organized the schemes by which freight moves in bond over international boundaries; by which passengers may travel in through trains through two or more countries; by which railroads of different countries, whether privately or state owned, get their distributive shares of the revenues; by which cars of one country passed freely into another. It superintended the intricate system of accounting which dealt with the proceeds. Its task was enormous, and of the greatest difficulty, as may be judged by what has been said of the conditions under which the different parts of Poland were equipped with

railroads, and the difficulty of unifying them under the new conditions.

The Treaty of Versailles, in Article 366, says:

From the coming into force of the present treaty the high contracting parties shall renew, in so far as concerns them and under the reserves indicated in the second paragraph of the present article, the conventions and arrangements signed at Berne . . . regarding the transportation of goods by rail.

If within five years from the date of the coming into force of the present treaty a new convention for the transportation of passengers, luggage and goods by rail shall have been concluded to replace the Berne convention . . . this new convention and the supplementary provisions for international transport by rail which may be based on it shall bind Germany even if she shall have refused to take part in the preparation of the convention or to subscribe to it. Until a new convention shall have been concluded, Germany shall conform to the provisions of the Berne Convention . . . and to the current supplementary provisions.

Article 367. Germany shall be bound to co-operate in the establishment of through ticket service; . . . shall accept trains and carriages coming from the territories of the Allied and Associated Powers and shall forward them with a speed at least equal to that of her best long-distance trains on the same lines. The rates applicable to such through services shall not in any case be higher than the rates collected on German internal services for the same distance, under the same conditions of speed and comfort.

These are only a small part of the treaty's provisions to insure German cooperation in the recreation of the United States of Europe under the Berne scheme. The Berne plan will be reestablished, and given greater powers than ever. The provision in Article 366 that the new Berne convention "shall bind Germany even if she shall have refused to take part in the preparation of the convention or to subscribe to it," is one of the most important, in relation to the future organization of this world, in the whole treaty. For it lays down the principle that transportation by rail is of such importance that a nation must not be allowed to interpose obstacles to its freedom. Sovereignty is made secondary to universal requirements. It is not hard to conceive circumstances in which a League of Nations or a world-embracing Berne Convention may, at no distant future, brush aside any objections that mere national sovereignty may set up to block the construction of a Cape-to-Cairo road, or of an intercontinental binding the three Americas. The Versailles treaty will be cited as good authority on the necessity for uninterrupted transportation.

The refusal of the Entente Powers to discuss the freedom of the seas at Versailles will probably have a direct effect of furthering the internationalization of railroads. The submarine has made the seas less secure than ever before. In the World War the allied navies hopelessly overmatched the Central Powers', yet in less than three years of unrestricted submarining, for which it was ill prepared at the beginning, Germany inflicted such losses on her enemies that the very issue of the war was long in doubt.

It is at least an interesting reflection that an instrument presuming the lofty aims of this treaty contains no attempt to curb maritime murder and prevent wholesale destruction of shipping, belligerent and neutral.

The Projected Channel Tube

It is already obvious that some, at least, of the nations realize the implications of this. England herself is one of them. She is moving to secure her independence of the very seas that have given her power. She proposes to hold the seas against the world, and to make herself as secure as possible from submarine attack.

This brings us to consideration of the Channel Tunnel. Twenty-two miles of tube from Dover to Sangatte, France, would mean that the submarine would lose most of its terrors for England. The happy hunting-grounds of the submarine in the late war were in the narrow and shallow waters of the Channel and the Irish Sea. However the submarine may be varied in future, it will still be most effective in such waters as these. The "Chunnel," as they call it in England, would make it unnecessary for British shipping to risk the waters of this bottle-neck. They could enter ports anywhere in Great Britain or France, escaping the areas where observation is easy; unship their cargoes, and send them by rail under the Channel, if need be. Assuming England and France to be at peace, the coastline of either would become the coastline of both. No fleet of submarines now conceivable could maintain such a patrol of this wide area as was maintained over the small tract through which, during the late war, most of the shipping had to pass and repass.

Napoleon I, Stephenson, Napoleon III, and Ferdinand de Lesseps are among the famous names that have indorsed the Channel tunnel. Detailed plans were perfected in 1856, from which time it has been a tangible project. British conservatism always

opposed, French imagination always favored it. In 1874 a French company sunk a shaft and actually bored about a mile and a half of tunnel; a few years later an English company did nearly as much at the Dover end. Then British opposition halted it again. The World War and the submarine brought British opinion to the view that Frenchmen had taken from the beginning. To-day there is no serious opposition in either country.

Pre-war engineering calculations placed the tunnel's cost at \$80,000,000. It could be built in four years, and at the deepest part of the Channel would be 260 feet below low water. At that point the Channel is 165 feet deep. There would be two parallel tunnels, one taking traffic in each direction. The tunnel is, in truth, a far less imposing or less expensive project than either the Panama or the Suez ditch. That it will be built in the near future is as near certainty as anything of the future can be. The Channel Tunnel will make Britain, with her great fleet, comparatively safe from the submarine; but it will not make other countries safe from the menace of the British fleet. Rather, it will unchain that fleet from a home base such as it haunted during the late war, and set it free to seek out the commerce of the enemy everywhere. At the cost of three or four dreadnoughts, Britain would double the effectiveness of her fleet.

But Anglo-French plans for security from the submarine do not end here. The Channel Tunnel would mean an ultimate unification of the railroad systems of the two countries; and already they are looking still farther ahead. There have been built two great ocean-linking, continent-dividing canals. On the world's map are just as plainly indicated two continent-linking under-sea tunnels; one under the Strait of Gibraltar, the other under Bering Strait, connecting North America with Asia.

A Tunnel at Gibraltar

Of these, the Gibraltar tunnel project has been a dream of engineers for decades. It, likewise, has been revived by the war. It would be rather shorter than the Channel tunnel, but owing to the great depth of the sea would have to lie, at the lowest point, more than twice as far below sea-level. Its calculated cost is slightly less than that of the Channel project.

Down to the great war Gibraltar was never able to compete with the Channel in

attractiveness, for there was no very manifest reason for spending so much to connect Europe and Africa. But when the submarines were doing their worst, Britishers and Frenchmen alike fell to talking of it again. If a Channel tunnel were built, and then a like one at Gibraltar, a railroad line down the west coast of Africa would carry traffic by rail to Cape Verde, the westernmost point of Africa, whence it is only about 1100 miles, through wide and open seas, to the nearest point of the American continent! Such a route would give the Allies feasible access, secure from submarine, to the food and other supplies of South America, and would still further lessen the dependence of the western powers on a sea from which all restrictions of law had been removed.

If the strategic argument for a Gibraltar tube seems a bit fanciful to-day, the economic case for it is far more impressive than during the war. Africa has become well-nigh a French-British continent. France and Spain have extensive common interests in Morocco, by reason of which it is the French understanding that Spain would readily assent to the project. France is planning a railroad down the west coast of Africa to join up her possessions and match the British Cape-to-Cairo line through the heart of the continent. Plans are discussed for connecting these two systems, and making the trip from London or Paris, via Gibraltar, to Capetown easy and vastly shorter than by way of the Cape-to-Cairo line. The appeal of such a project to the newly awakened spirit of French imperialistic adventure is easily enough understood; and if it be suggested that France is in poor position to undertake such vast exploits, a Frenchman, at least, finds answer in the retort that if France fifty years ago could give the world the Suez Canal, despite British opposition, France to-day, with British coöperation, surely can give it the Gibraltar tunnel.

Perhaps another generation will see the submarine tamed; but even so, before another generation shall have passed it will have scared the world into boring these two tunnels and unifying the railroad systems of the United Kingdom, France, Spain, and West Africa.

The French are dreamers of magnificent dreams; and their engineers bring realization of the dreams. They saw Suez when British statesmen feared it as a menace to India, British commerce dreaded it as an

attack on British sea supremacy, and British engineers pooh-poohed it as an engineering impossibility. They saw Panama, and failed only for want of means. They saw the "Chunnel," and have at last won Britain to it. Now they see Gibraltar.

Tunneling Bering Strait

These visionaries who look forward with calm confidence to the twentieth century completing the world's conquest by western civilization do not stop yet. They have another great obstacle of nature marked for conquest: Bering Strait.

A tunnel under the strip of water that connects the Arctic and the Pacific would be about twice as long as that at Gibraltar. In some ways it is believed an easier engineering undertaking, for there are two islands to break the long jump. Borings could be started both ways from each island, and from both the Siberian and Alaskan shores.

Before there is use for a Bering tunnel the Trans-Siberian road will have to construct a line, probably from Lake Baikal, through Eastern Siberia and the Kamtchatka peninsula, and the Canadian-Alaskan systems will have to be carried across Alaska. But the Canadians are far into their northwest already; our own Alaskan system—the Government's first plunge into state railroad construction, by the way—is so far and so well developed that Alaska's transportation future is assured. In the whole scheme of joining Asia and America by rail, there is no single feature that looks more improbable to-day than our Alaska railroad system would have appeared to conservative people when we first learned that there was a bonanza on the Klondike.

New Railroad Mileage in Russia, Siberia, and China

Even before the war nearly all countries were inadequately provided with railroads. We have noted that the United States had nearly 40 per cent. of the world's mileage, yet even this country was alarmed at the decreasing construction of new lines. England and France have discovered that they need considerable new mileage to open undeveloped areas. Russia and Siberia cannot be developed without huge transportation systems. That of Siberia will have to be provided, as were the roads of the United States, on the theory of building the railroad

first and trusting to population to take advantage of it later.

China has a greater area than the United States, and probably four hundred million people. It has less than seven thousand miles of railroads. The British *Board of Trade Journal* calculates that in the next twenty-five years at least fifty thousand, possibly even one hundred thousand, miles of railway will be built in China. Chinese railway construction has been almost suspended since 1914. Enlightened Chinese and friends of China recognize that railways will be the best safeguard against disintegration of the Republic. They will largely overcome both alien intrigues looking to partition and the great diversity of language, interests, and customs among the different sections of the country. China, with its huge population waiting to be served, presents a sharp contrast to Siberia, with the area but without the population. Yet it is a curious fact that the unpopulated areas have commonly presented greater attraction to railroad enterprise than the populous ones. The development of the American-Canadian railroads, the Trans-Siberian line, and many roads in colonial areas all over the world, illustrate this fact. Since the war began, Australia has opened a trans-continental line, its motive partly economic and partly strategic. Yet Australia, in area equaling the United States, has only about five million people.

Germany's Problems of Operation

The railroads of Poland have afforded illustration of the transportation chaos that the war has brought to much of Europe. Those of Germany illustrate certain new problems in engineering and operation, also results of the war. Not only does the Peace Treaty take from Germany a large part of its coal-producing area, but it requires Germany to furnish, over a long period, great tonnages of coal to France and Italy. Mr. Keynes has shown how impossible it will be for Germany to maintain its railroads and industries with the coal remaining in its possession.

Germany's alternative is electrification of the railroads—a program that is suddenly finding favor in many parts of the world. Germany proposes to harness her water powers and as rapidly as possible operate her railroads with hydroelectric power.

Electrification as a Solution

Italy is in even worse condition than Germany because it has practically no coal. On the other hand, Italy has marvelous water-power possibilities in her mountain ranges. The Alps in the north and the long Apennine chain extending the length of the peninsula make it possible for Italy to convert water power into electricity and distribute it throughout the entire country. Italian enterprise is already undertaking the task, and the railroads will be electrified as rapidly as possible.

Last year a French commission came to the United States to study this country's accomplishments in railroad electrification, and it is proposed to equip and operate a large part of the French system with hydroelectric power. In Chile, Argentina, Brazil, and other South American countries the electrification program is urged by the same consideration as in Italy: lack of coal, on the one side, and abundance of water power on the other. Our own railway engineers and financiers are generally agreed that electric power must be applied to our railroads very largely in the next generation.

Even in England, although it has little water power, electrification is planned. Lacking water power, England has immense coal resources, and it is proposed literally to electrify the kingdom—to divide the country into industrial and transportation regions, with reference to coal supplies, and to establish great electric plants in each coal area, to convert the energy of the coal, right at the pit-head, into electricity, thence to be distributed throughout the region, for both railroad and industrial purposes.

So conservative and well-informed a railroad authority as William Michael Acworth has recently raised the question whether England will ultimately find it worth while to try to save her present railroad plant, or decide, in view of the necessities of unification and electrification, to scrap it entirely and start over. Mr. Acworth is one of the world's greatest railroad authorities. He has written voluminously against government ownership, but the war has changed his views. As a member of an expert commission he recommended that Canada nationalize its railroads, and in a recent article published in England he reached the conclusion that even that country must accept the nationalization program.

CANADA AND RAILWAY NATIONALIZATION

BY SIR PATRICK THOMAS McGRATH

(Member of the Legislative Council of Newfoundland)

AT the moment, when the United States is handing back the railways of that country to private owners, having apparently realized that nationalization is not feasible, the neighboring Dominion of Canada, on the other hand, is deliberately proposing to undertake the nationalization of its railways as far as possible, in the belief that it can make this venture a success.

Canada, rather curiously, has an even greater provision of railway accommodation for its people than has the United States—one mile of railway for every 234 persons—while in the United States there is but one mile for every 390. Indeed, many contend that Canada is overprovided with railways, especially in the West, where some twenty years ago an agitation set in for an increased provision in this respect, because of the expectation that the country would develop at a much greater rate than actually proved to be the case. An extreme example of government effort in this respect is seen in the famous Hudson Bay Railway, built to the shores of the Northern Sea to satisfy the demands of the Western provinces for an outlet in this direction, the success of which must be very questionable.

Canada's generous provision of railways is to-day one of the chief features in causing the financial and economic stress and strain through which she is passing, and which threatens to become still more serious before it takes a favorable turn. During the late war hundreds of miles of railroad iron was taken up to be sent to France, and it is doubtful if much of this will ever be relaid, because the existing facilities are considered to be ample for most of the territory which the other lines helped to serve.

In Canada the question of railway nationalization has now become a regular party issue, the Unionist Government, headed by Sir Robert Borden, having committed itself definitely to this policy; the farmers, who have taken a prominent place

in the political developments in the country in recent months, being similarly inclined, while the Liberals are disposed to take the contrary course, supported by the business community in the main, which may be described as being opposed to the principle. On behalf of the government it is argued that its hand was more or less forced by the exigencies of the war. Some privately-owned railway systems became financially embarrassed and after being helped from the public treasury to a certain extent, and further demands being still made, the government decided it would be a cheaper and better policy to take over the railway companies and this was done with the Canadian Northern Railway in 1918, while in the closing months of 1919 the Grand Trunk System was acquired—not outright, as with the other, but under conditions which are virtually equivalent to outright purchase.

A Unified Transcontinental System to Compete with the Canadian Pacific

Until the past two years Canada had three great railway lines crossing the continent. The Canadian Pacific was one; the system composed of the Intercolonial, National Transcontinental, and Grand Trunk Pacific was the second; and what was known as the Canadian Northern was the third. These had a total mileage, roughly, of 38,000, and about 18,600 miles were represented by the Canadian Pacific, one of the greatest transportation agencies in the world. All the rest have now been brought into a unified system known as the "Canadian National Railways" and designed to form under government operation a fit competitor to the Canadian Pacific.

It is frankly admitted that efficiency in operation to an extent realized by the Canadian Pacific is scarcely to be expected from the national system, but it is hoped that the example of this privately owned line will help to maintain the standard of the gov-

ernment organization, while, on the other hand, the strong argument for the new system is that it will be able to keep rates so low that the C. P. will be unable to make excessive charges for services in any part of Canada.

This argument, while pleasing enough in theory, has yet to be exemplified, and it must be admitted that in so far as Canada's previous experience goes there is little to encourage the hope that this result can be accomplished except at a very heavy cost to the taxpayer.

It is needless to say much in describing the Canadian Pacific Railway System, the fame of which is world-wide. Its principal competitor in Canada has been the Grand Trunk—a line operating chiefly in the Province of Ontario. This road was established about fifty years ago, and has been supported by English capital, and dominated by an English directorate. It has 3500 miles of track and operates in the most populous section of Canada. Yet the official returns show that it only made a profit in 1918 of about half the amount required to meet the fixed charges. Its Western extension, known as the Grand Trunk Pacific Railway, was undertaken about fifteen years ago, during the premiership of the late Sir Wilfrid Laurier, as part of a transcontinental system. Its 2800 miles has been a dead weight around the neck of the parent concern.

Another part of the great railway project of that period is what is known as the National Transcontinental Railway, extending from a point in New Brunswick to the west. It was to be built by the government and operated by the Grand Trunk, but that company was obliged to throw it back on the hands of the government some two or three years ago, and since that time it has been operated as part of the government system. It, too, proved a losing venture from the start. Perhaps no better illustration can be afforded of the hasty manner in which these projects were enterprised than to point out that the Transcontinental Railway was estimated at the outset to cost only thirteen million dollars, and actually cost 250 millions.

These lines were designed to work in conjunction with the Intercolonial Railway System—the original government railway of Canada—built as one of the terms for the federating of the Maritime Provinces with Central Canada half a century ago, and operated by the government ever since.

The third transcontinental system was

that which was known until recently as the "Canadian Northern" or "Mackenzie and Mann" system, from the two railway magnates who devised and carried the enterprise through. This line was built in various sections of Canada as traffic seemed to warrant, the intention being to join up the different parts later, but that stage was never reached. The intervening links were supplied by the second system. This Canadian Northern line was taken over by the government in 1918 and amalgamated with the Intercolonial and National Transcontinental. By the recent enactment the Grand Trunk System was acquired and now there are but the two competing agencies—the Canadian Pacific, privately owned, and the other aggregation, entitled "The Canadian National Railways," publicly owned.

Financial Difficulties

Canada's financial position to-day is serious. Her obligations total about three billion dollars, one-third being made up of her outlays for the public works and services of the country for the fifty years that confederation has been in existence; one-third being her outlays in connection with the Great War, just ended; and one-third being her railway properties, including, of course, those recently acquired, as above stated.

To put it otherwise, Canada must find every year from current revenue the money to pay the interest on three billion dollars, including the one billion represented by her railway investments, payment of which must be made either in the form of interest to holders of debentures or stocks of the original companies which she has acquired, or meeting deficits in the actual operation of the line. Her present revenue and systems of taxation are not adequate to meet all these demands, and the necessary costs of carrying on the public services of the country. The public men of the Dominion are, therefore, issuing warnings as to the need of economy and increased production.

This, however, is easier said than done. The experience of the war shows how difficult it is to reduce expenses of permanent government services in the face of the increased cost of everything nowadays, which we describe by the phrase the "High Cost of Living." If Canada is able to carry on her railroad undertakings satisfactorily and make them pay as if privately owned, she will accomplish something that has never been done before. Canada is in this regard

in a better position than any other country to determine the possibilities in this respect, because railway ownership and operation is not altogether a new experiment for her. In the Intercolonial Railway, serving Prince Edward Island, Nova Scotia, and Quebec, she has had a government line in actual working for forty years, and it has never paid the interest on the outlay, and until recently rarely made two ends meet in operating. This condition was excused by practical politicians on the ground that the people got certain benefits through the reduced rates which the line charged, but on the other hand, while this might be true of the section served by the railway, yet the whole of the Dominion had to be taxed to meet the cost of operating the line, as well as the cost of many millions of dollars in the original construction and subsequent improvement.

Within the past two or three years the government had to take over and operate, in conjunction with the Intercolonial, some 2000 miles of the National Transcontinental Railway. The capital cost or actual expenditure on this mileage was 306 millions. For the twelve months which ended on the 31st of March, 1919, the working expenses of the Canadian Government Railways, as thus represented, were \$43,696,000; and the actual revenue was only \$37,906,000.

Within the same period Canada has acquired, as already stated, the Canadian Northern and Grand Trunk lines, which are not likely, judging by their records in the past, to add to the money-making operation of the government system. Neither of them was in a position at the time of their taking over by the government, to meet its capital charges by its revenue. This is no pleasant prospect for a country with 8,000,000 of population, already facing a debt, apart from the railways, of \$2,000,000,000.

What Are the Roads Costing?

A further example of the difficulty of making railways pay is seen in the last official statement of the Canadian Northern Railway under government operation. This shows a deficit for the current year of \$5,587,000, which represents only the difference between traffic receipts and money paid out for actual operation, taking no account of interest on the capital invested, money spent for improvements, or anything chargeable to capital account.

Last year, as just shown, the operating deficit on the Canadian Government Rail-

ways—not including the Canadian Northern—was about six millions. In addition the government spent nearly thirty-five millions which was charged to capital account. This brought the total excess of all expenses over all receipts up to forty million dollars. Had a fair charge been added for interest on the cost of these railways this total would have reached nearly sixty million dollars. So, it is obvious that the admitted Canadian Northern deficit must be multiplied many times before the people will find what that road will actually cost them this year.

But a more discouraging fact is that while the Canadian Northern in its last full year of company operation (1918) actually made a profit—a small profit, indeed, not enough to meet its accumulated financial obligations, but sufficing to pay its running expenses and to leave a surplus of five and one-half million dollars—this surplus was transformed in a little more than a year of government operation into a deficit of a similar sum.

Take again the facts respecting the Grand Trunk Railway System. This line under company operation was officially credited with having operating premiums of three millions for 1919. In taking the road over the government assumed obligations totaling nine millions. These obligations were as follows:

To pay four per cent. interest on all debentures of the company;

Four per cent. interest on all credited stock, and

Four per cent. interest on the arbitrated value of all the other securities of the line.

The first item means an actual interest charge of six millions; the second of about \$2,250,000; the third an uncertain amount, but there is a provision in the agreement of arbitration fixing the minimum amount at \$2,250,000, but by even cutting this in half it will be seen that Canada has to face obligations of over nine million dollars, less three millions of surplus earnings if the road is operated as cheaply as by the private company. If the same expense ensues as with the Canadian Northern, however, the result is likely to be a doubling of the deficit.

It is estimated in some quarters to-day that Canada is actually losing on her railroad project thirty-five million dollars a year, and that within another twelve months the sum will be increased to about sixty million dollars as a minimum when all these lines are in operation as parts of the "national" system.

CONSTRUCTIVE LEGISLATION IN CANADA

BY OWEN E. MCGILLICUDDY

THE administration of the Union Government at Ottawa is being severely criticized in many quarters, on the ground that it has outlived its usefulness. But there is no doubt that since its election to office, in December, 1917, it has put through more legislation of a varied character than any other government ever attempted in the history of the Dominion.

The acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway, the prohibition enactment, the problems incident to the repatriation and reestablishment of Canada's soldiers, the elimination of patronage, the development of a Canadian merchant marine, new social legislation, and the creation of the Board of Commerce—these are only a few of the progressive and necessary steps initiated by the government during the past year. The very nature of a number of these questions made for contention rather than unity of support, and Hon. N. W. Rowell, President of the Council, has frankly admitted that while the government was unpopular, it had courageously handled all problems which had been brought before it and would take up the problems yet to be solved in the same spirit.

"No government could do its duty during the past two years and be popular with all classes and sections of the community," he said. "If Canada was to do her whole duty during the war it was indispensable that restrictions and obligations should be imposed upon the people, in order that the nation's energy should be directed to one supreme effort—the achievement of victory. People do not like restrictions and obligations, and no government that imposes them can be popular once the pressure of war necessity is removed."

Mr. Rowell pointed out that while practically all the Orders-in-Council passed under the War Measures Act had been repealed, many of those affected by the orders would still resent the restrictions, no matter how important in the national interest their enactment may have been. "No government," he said, "could enforce compulsory

military service without provoking hostility and resentment in thousands of families who were unwilling to let their sons go to the front. No government could abolish patronage and appointments to the public service which affect every constituency from the Atlantic to the Pacific, and deprive thousands of men who have been political workers of the hope of reward, without incurring strong hostility from large elements in every section of the country. No government could pass legislation which would deprive men who were accustomed to having liquor in their homes of the opportunity of securing this liquor, without provoking hostility from thousands.

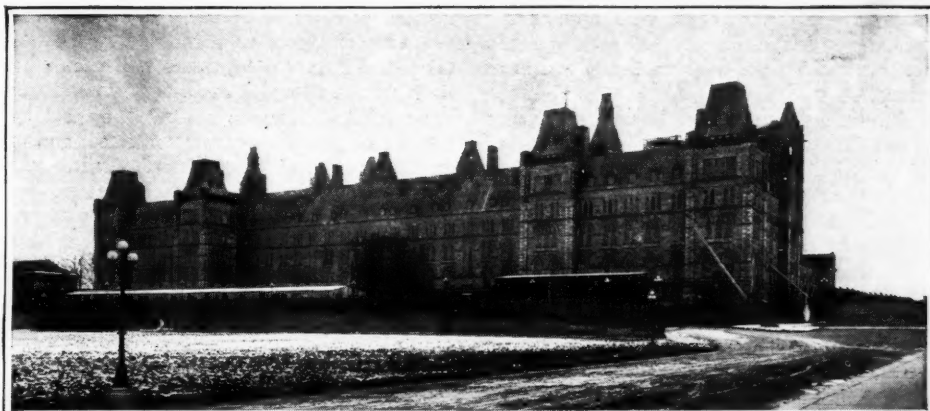
CANADA'S ENHANCED PRESTIGE

"In short," pointed out the President of the Council, "Union Government was put into power by the Canadian electors to do things which the country needed to have done, but which no party government was willing to undertake; and the question is not whether Union Government is popular, but whether Union Government has done right—has served the public interests. The fact is that Union Government has dealt with great national problems from the standpoint of the public need and the public interest, regardless of whether their action would be popular or unpopular.

"The net result is—and it cannot be gainsaid—that outside the boundaries of Canada the name of Canada never stood so high as it does to-day, and no country which took part in the war has suffered so little from the inevitable results which follow prolonged participation in a great war. Canada has emerged from the war with her credit enhanced at home and abroad, and she faces her second year of peace with brighter prospects and a more assured future than in any year of her history."

CARING FOR THE RETURNED SOLDIER

Undoubtedly the Union Government has been responsible for much useful work in



THE NEW PARLIAMENT BUILDINGS AT OTTAWA—WHERE THE DOMINION LEGISLATURE SITS—REPLACING THOSE DESTROYED BY FIRE FOUR YEARS AGO

connection with the demobilization and repatriation of the Canadian Expeditionary Forces. When the armistice was signed Canada had 277,439 men overseas, of whom no fewer than 43,000 were sick and wounded in British and French hospitals. All these sick and wounded, with the exception of less than 100, have been returned to Canada; and, with the exception of about 1000 men engaged in closing up matters in Great Britain, all members of the Canadian Expeditionary Force have now been returned and demobilized.

The total amount paid out in war-service gratuities by the Canadian Government up to last December was \$148,405,030.78. It is estimated that about \$22,000,000 more will be required to complete payment to members of the C. E. F. and to Canadians who served in the imperial forces, making a total of \$170,000,000 paid by Canada on account of war-service gratuity. Pensions in Canada have been higher than in any other country; and included in the amounts paid by Canada for pensions is a war bonus of 20 per cent. The total number of pensions granted up to October 31 last was 82,661.

During the past year the government brought under review the question of settling soldiers on land. At the spring session of the House of Commons last year a bill was passed under which a soldier may receive a loan up to \$7500 for the purchase of land, livestock, implements, and the erection of buildings. By December 44,278 had made application for qualification certificates for such allowances. Of this number 33,496 had been approved, and 18,309 loans had been provided, amounting to \$54,701,858.

EDUCATING AND TRAINING THE DISABLED

Disabled men are being reeducated and retrained to fit them for some useful occupation; and over 40,000 applications, including both classes, have been approved for reeducation or retraining. More than 34,000 applicants have already entered upon their course, and nearly 9000 have graduated. At its last session, Parliament voted approximately \$33,000,000 for the work of the Department of Soldiers' Civil Reestablishment. This is apart from \$40,000,000 voted at the autumn session. Labor exchanges have been established throughout Canada, with the result that up to December 6 over 101,000 returned men had been found employment,



ONE HOUSING PROBLEM SOLVED!

(Madam Parliament moves into a suitable residence)
From the *Star* (Montreal, Canada)

or 96.5 per cent. of all who applied for assistance. More than 24,000 returned men had been given positions in the government service up to December 31.

At the autumn session Parliament placed at the disposal of the government the sum of \$40,000,000 for reestablishment work as set out in the report of the repatriation committee. This money, as required, is now to be disbursed by the Patriotic Fund under the directorship of General Ross, to meet cases of absolute need. Taken altogether—war-service gratuity, pensions, land settlement, reeducation and retraining, providing of employment, and an unemployment fund—*no other warring nation has equaled Canada in providing for the returning men or dependents of those who fell.*

HOUSING AND PROHIBITION LEGISLATION

The government has adopted legislation providing for the spending of \$25,000,000 in a housing program to be carried out in each of the provinces. Seven hundred houses have already been built in Ontario, and another 700 are under way. Every province but one is taking advantage of the legislation. Ten million dollars has been set aside for technical education, and grants will be made on condition that the provinces spend a similar amount.

The Union Government has given Canada the most advanced temperance legislation in her history. Under the legislation passed at the last session of Parliament, any province can absolutely prevent the importation of liquor into its territory for beverage purposes.

CIVIL SERVICE REFORM

One of the most important measures of the government during the past year has been that relating to civil-service reform and the reclassification of the whole service on the basis of merit. No more important act dealing with the civil service has been passed by any Parliament. According to Mr. Rowell, patronage has been entirely eliminated, both in appointments and promotions. "When the work is completed," said he, "it not only should result in the elimination of the grave abuses which are inseparably associated with the patronage system, but it should also result in a very sub-

stantial increase in efficiency in the service."

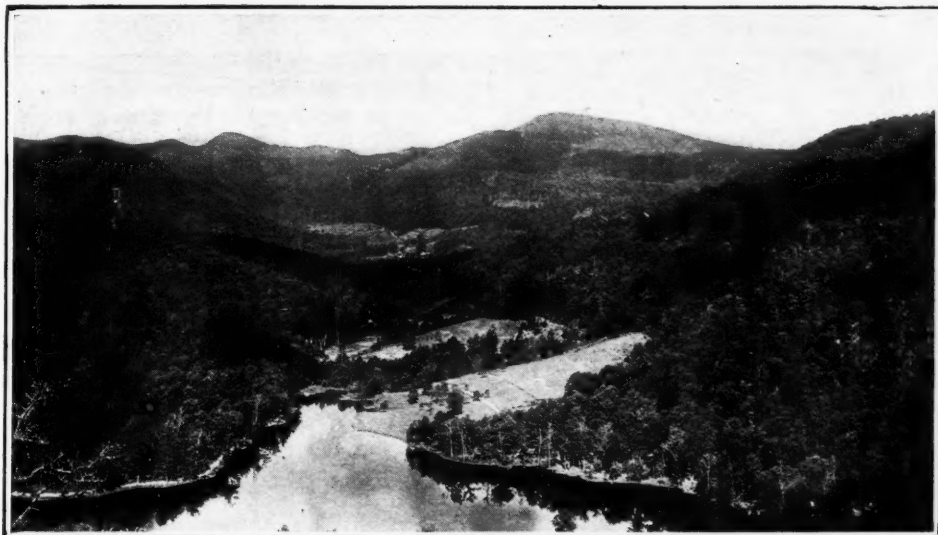
Undoubtedly in so gigantic a work mistakes and apparent injustices will occur, but the new act provides machinery whereby all these matters may be reviewed by a Civil Service Commission, errors corrected, and injustices removed. It should result, from the point of view of an efficient Civil Service, in (1) better pay for the service rendered, (2) promotion on merit, and (3) security of tenure. To the public it should result in greater efficiency in the government service and a substantial reduction in public expenditure by the gradual elimination of unnecessary and inefficient employees.

IMMIGRATION, AND A MERCHANT MARINE

Owing to the amendments in the Immigration Act, Canada's settlers will be selected with much greater care than in the past. The government has taken power to deport from Canada those persons whose aim it is to overthrow by force all constituted authority or those who believe in, or are opposed to, organized government.

Among other important work accomplished by the present administration has been the creation of a Canadian Trade Mission in London under the direction of Mr. Lloyd Harris, the creation of a Board of Commerce to stop profiteering, the passage of a more direct bankruptcy law, the creation of the Canadian Wheat Board to market the cereal crop of the Dominion, the acquisition of the Grand Trunk Railway, and the establishment of a Canadian Merchant Marine in connection with the government system of railways.

The government has contracted for no fewer than sixty steel freight ships, ranging in net weight tonnage from lake size, 3750 tons, to 10,500 tons, with a total net tonnage of 359,945. Government ships are now carrying lumber from British Columbia to England and Australia; others are running to Newfoundland, Liverpool, Glasgow, and London. When the ships now contracted for are completed the Canadian merchant marine will be plying to and from the important ports of all continents, developing Canadian trade and giving Canada a government-owned and operated transportation system by rail and by water circling round the globe.



Photograph from U. S. Forest Service

FORESTS ON THE SOUTHERN SLOPES OF THE BLUE RIDGE IN THE SAPPHIRE COUNTRY OF NORTH CAROLINA

FOREST PRESERVATION IN THE EASTERN MOUNTAINS

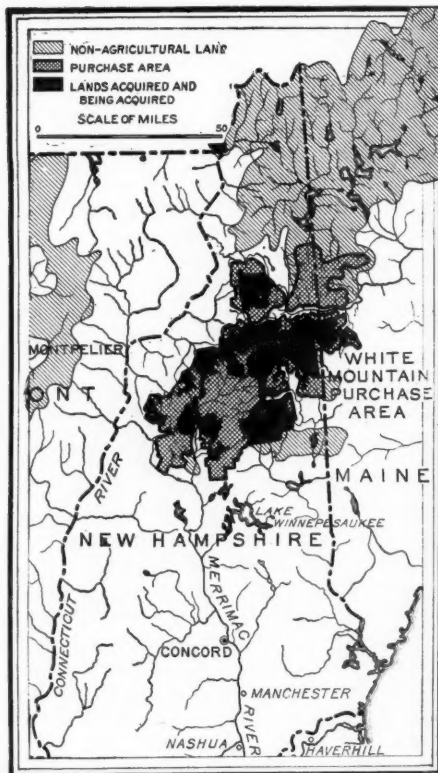
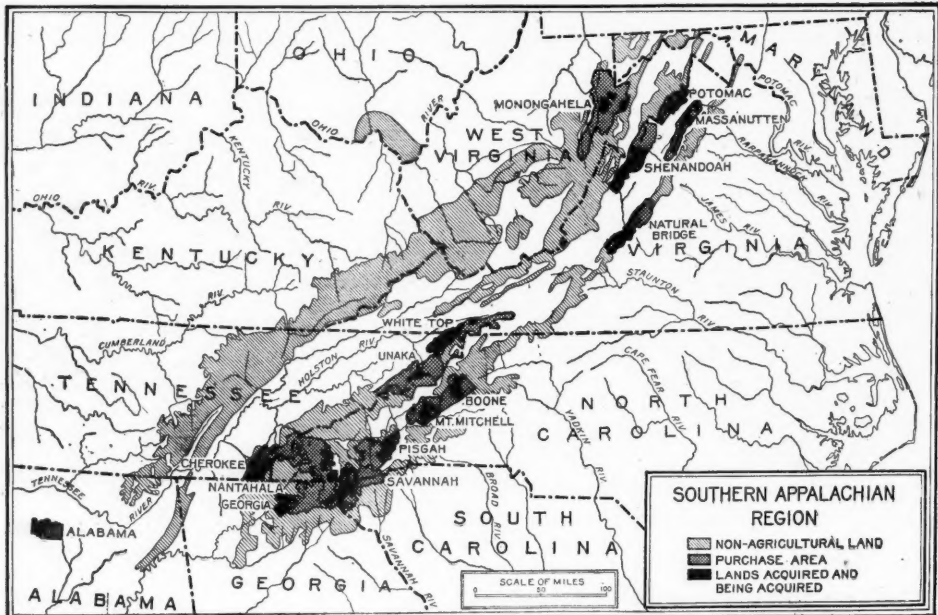
BY PHILIP W. AYRES

(Forester of the Society for Protection of New Hampshire Forests)

WHEN climbing in the White Mountains one comes at intervals upon prominent new red posts beside the highway or the trail. They mark the boundaries of the national forest reserve recently purchased by the Federal Government. Every climber now may choose his camp for the night at will on the reserve, under Mt. Washington or in the Franconia Mountains, or in the newly acquired primeval forest on the slopes of Mt. Chocorua. His are the wide stretches of valley, the floating clouds, the fresh upland fields. As he climbs through the hardwoods and hemlocks into the spruces and firs and through the stunted gnome woods into the fir scrub toward the summits, he finds no more boundary posts until he reaches the valleys and farm lands on the other side. He realizes that as a citizen he is joint owner not only of the whole mountain, but also of the whole range. Here the old lumber camps are in decay. The new forest is springing into life wherever fire has not destroyed the soil. A new patriotism fills his heart, a sense of protecting at the fountain head not only

the timber that will give to the people future houses, furniture and tools, but also, pure drinking water to many cities, steady power at the wheels of hundreds of factories, and a strong, full flow upon which without interruption the shipping from these cities and factories may pass to and from the sea. What myriads of electric lights throughout New England are dependent upon the steady flow of mountain streams!

Crossing to the next range he passes a red post and the scene changes. The sound of many axes greets the ear. The sight of men and horses and confused logs meets the eye. He is on private land that is being stripped clean. Great black patches on the steep slopes mark recent fires that follow the lumber slash over thousands of acres. In a forest fire the soil itself, which is of vegetable origin, the result of age-long accumulations, is also burned. This profoundly changes the capacity for forest growth, and over whole mountains practically destroys the soil. Sometimes the soil of growing forests is changed by fire to bare and barren rock, per-



NATIONAL FOREST IN THE WHITE MOUNTAIN REGION—NEW HAMPSHIRE AND MAINE

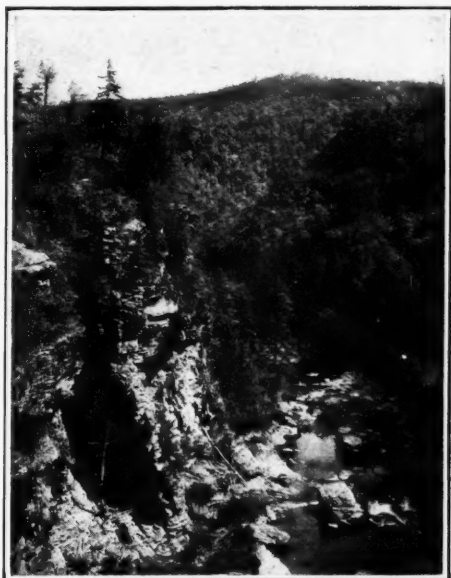
manently debarred from usefulness. On inquiry the climber learns that less than half of the original plan laid down by the Government in the White Mountain region has thus far been carried out. He drinks at a spring whose waters flow into the Connecticut River and Long Island Sound; five minutes later at another that flows into the Merrimac, and thence to the Atlantic Ocean. The one is on the National forest; the other on private land. Both should be protected, for both turn mill wheels and electric plants time after time on their way to the sea. When water fails at the wheels tens of thousands of workmen and workwomen must stop, or else the factories must resort to steam plants, expensively constructed, with coal hauled at high prices from distant States. Every important river in New England, except the Penobscot, rises on the great White Mountain watersheds, and they affect every New England State except Rhode Island.

It is the same in the mountains of West Virginia and North Carolina. One may camp on Mt. Mitchel, in North Carolina, at an elevation higher than Mt. Washington, in the midst of the worst lumber slash in Eastern America, where destructive logging with vast fires followed by unexampled erosion are doing their perfect work in depriving the American people of their heritage. Future prices must be higher because

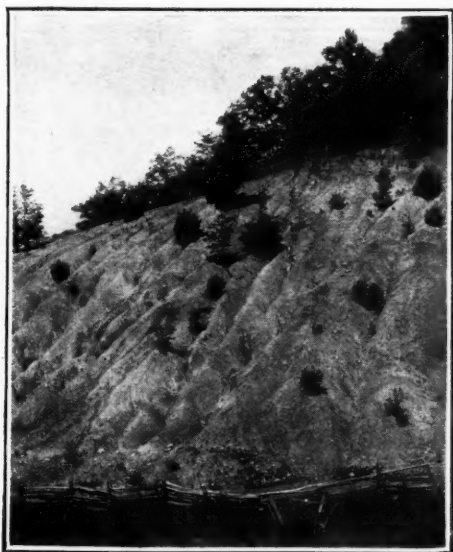
the power of production over great areas in both the Northern and Southern mountains is destroyed by the hand of man in a single generation. When a forest in the high mountains is cut, the underlying soil freezes for the first time. Hitherto the forest cover with the duff and growth of ferns and mountain bushes has protected it, so that as the snow melts the soil holds back five times its own weight of water, an unbelievable weight, that keeps great rivers flowing on forever; but when the forest is destroyed the snow in springtime melts upon the frozen under surface and rushes down the mountains in torrents, carrying silt that fills up and spoils the mill ponds as well as the rivers and harbors, to be removed later from rivers and harbors by the Government. This expenditure maintains high taxes, and adds one more hidden element to the high cost of living.

Any who have gone through the terror of great floods that sweep down through such cities as Pittsburgh and Cincinnati, wonder that the problem has not been tackled earlier. Not only the property losses of millions of dollars, but also the distress of many hundreds of poor people who congregate on the low ground where land is cheap, compel the attention of the country and of Congress. Does it begin to be apparent that the mountain forest is, as a matter of fact, a primary element in the national welfare?

The maps show where forest land has



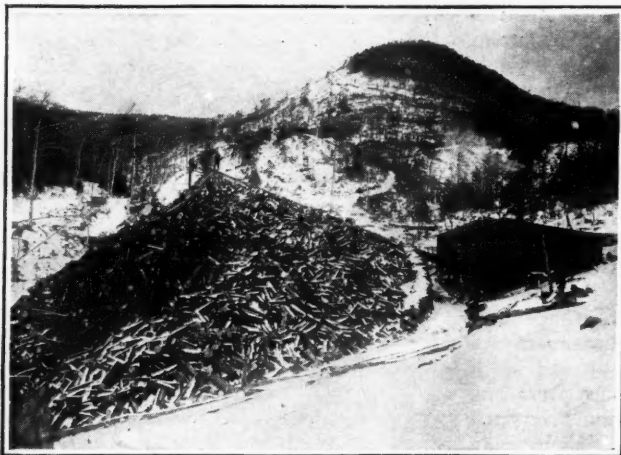
GORGE OF THE LINVILLE RIVER ACROSS THE BLUE RIDGE IN MITCHELL COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA
(Fair forest growth on steep, rocky walls)



A TYPICAL CASE OF EROSION IN NORTH CAROLINA—
REFORESTATION PREVENTED BY CONSTANT WASHING

been acquired by the Government in the mountains at the headwaters of the Monongahela River in West Virginia. This affects the floods in Pittsburgh. Other areas in that State, not yet acquired, at the headwaters of the New River and the Greenbrier, that discharge through the Great Kanawha, affect the flood situation at Cincinnati. Appropriations should not be withheld, nor should the wise policy fail until these lands also have been taken. It is fitting that the Cincinnati Chamber of Commerce has memorialized Congress recently to continue this undertaking, and that the commercial bodies in other cities, the Merchants Association in New York City, the Chamber of Commerce in Philadelphia and Association of Commerce in Chicago, as a matter of general welfare, have joined in the request. In the Southern Mountains only one-fourth of the area originally planned by the Government has been acquired.

National forest reserves in the West were first established by President Cleveland in his first administration. During the thirty-five years intervening, 155,000,000 acres have been saved from private exploitation, having been separated from the public domain, and placed in the care of the United States Forest Service by Presidential proclamation. It is to President Roosevelt, how-



CLEAN CUTTING IN THE PRIMEVAL TIMBER AT WATERVILLE, N. H.
(In Switzerland the steepest slopes are never cut)

ever, that we owe the greatest extension. Members of Congress from some of the Western States began to be alarmed at the removal of forest resources from immediate "development," and secured a law that no more forest reserves should be set aside in certain States except by act of Congress. Before signing this bill, Mr. Roosevelt, in characteristic fashion, signed proclamations setting aside nearly 50,000,000 acres in those and other States.

The great national forest reserves are located almost exclusively in the Rocky Mountains and far Western States. They equal in size the six New England States combined with New York, Pennsylvania, New Jersey and Delaware, and afford ample protection at the headwaters of the great rivers of the West, such as the Columbia River, the Missouri and the Colorado. Grazing land and rocky highlands above timber line reduce considerably the total forest cover. Much of the standing timber is still inaccessible. As it becomes available it will help to meet the growing needs of the West.

What about the East, where population is more dense, and the original forest nearly depleted? To begin a policy of forest reserves in the East, Congress passed what is known as the Weeks Law, appropriating eleven million dollars for the acquisition by purchase of forest lands at the headwaters of navigable streams not already protected. This was approved by President Taft on March 1, 1911. It has been applied exclusively to the acquisition of forest land in the eastern mountains. Four hundred and

thirty thousand acres, or seven hundred square miles, have been taken in the White Mountain region of New Hampshire and Maine, and nearly three times as much, or 1,200,000 acres in seven Southern Appalachian States — the two Virginias, the two Carolinas, Tennessee, Georgia and Alabama. One small purchase has been made in Arkansas to join two pieces of land already owned by the Government.

To protect these purchases from pork-barrel influences, they are very carefully safeguarded: before the Government can take the land, the legislature of that State must pass a law specifically inviting the United States to acquire forest land within its borders; the United States Geological Survey must certify that the lands, if acquired, will favorably influence the navigability of the streams flowing from the watershed; the Department of Justice must certify that the title is acceptable; the Forest Service must pass upon the capacity of the land to maintain forest growth, and its desirability for reserve purposes; no agricultural land may be taken, and finally, before

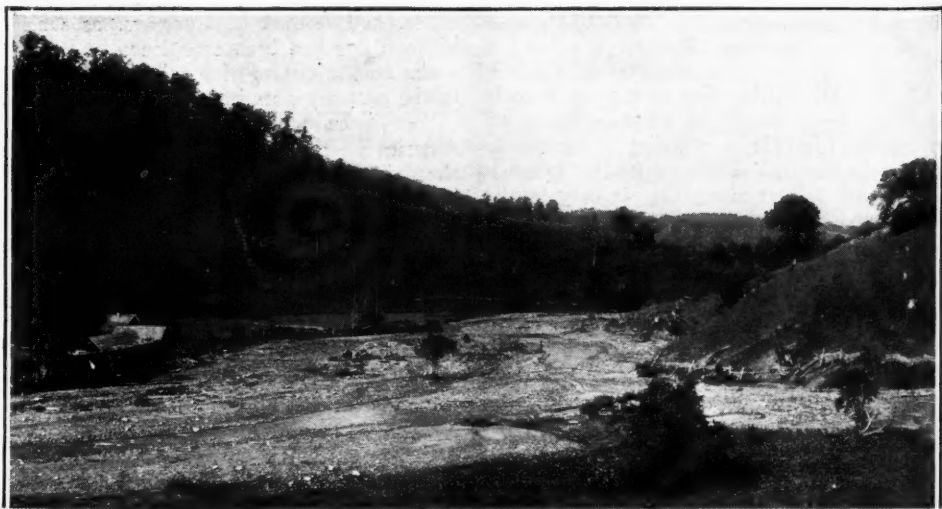


PRIMEVAL TIMBER ON MOUNT OSCEOLA,
WATERVILLE, N. H.
(Surveyed, but not purchased, by the Government)

any purchase can be made it must be approved by a special purchasing board, known as the National Forest Reservation Commission, that consists of three members of the Cabinet, the Secretaries of Agriculture, War and Interior, with two members of the Senate appointed by the President of the Senate, and two members of the House appointed by the Speaker. It is a seven days' wonder that with these restrictions the law works, and it is not surprising that before the several State legislatures and the Government departments and the Commission could be brought into cooperation, three of the eleven million dollars passed the time allotted for their expenditure, and reverted into the United States Treasury; but with splendid faith the officers of the Forest Service developed an orderly plan, and began to acquire forest land so effectively and well that Congress has twice given to it the stamp of its approval, once in 1916 when by special enactment the three millions that reverted were restored to the appropriation, and again in 1919 when the present Congress, in the face of war debts and excess profits taxes, appropriated \$600,000 to continue purchases and maintain the expert personnel for the year 1920. It takes an expert to buy forest land anywhere, but when the purchases are made under varying conditions in ten widely separated States, the necessary force become highly trained, and if scattered by a lapse of funds, cannot be reestablished without years of expensive practice.

If any one doubts the necessity for this policy of federal acquisition, let him remember that this nation, with an ever-growing population, is using its forest supplies three times as fast as they grow. There must come an end to this, and the pinch of very high prices is already upon us. Due to practical exhaustion the black walnut timber that Lincoln used to split into fence rails is now selling at \$260 for one thousand feet, board measure; hickory brings the same price. White pine that formerly stretched from Maine to Minnesota now has a greatly restricted output and sells for three and four times the prices of a decade ago. This is more than war prices; it is exhaustion price. Throughout the mountains, North and South, lumber operations, stimulated by high prices, are everywhere sweeping off the timber with unprecedented rapidity, except on the limited areas taken by the Government. Fire and erosion are ever at work.

What of the future? Shall the policy of Federal acquisition in the White Mountains and Southern Appalachians be continued or dropped? This is now before Congress and the American people to decide; and a clear decision is necessary, for a dallying half-policy can lead only to expense, and tends, like all inefficiency, to corruption. The original and special appropriations will have been used with the close of the fiscal year 1920. As in the past Congress will respond if the people make known their desire in letters to their representatives.



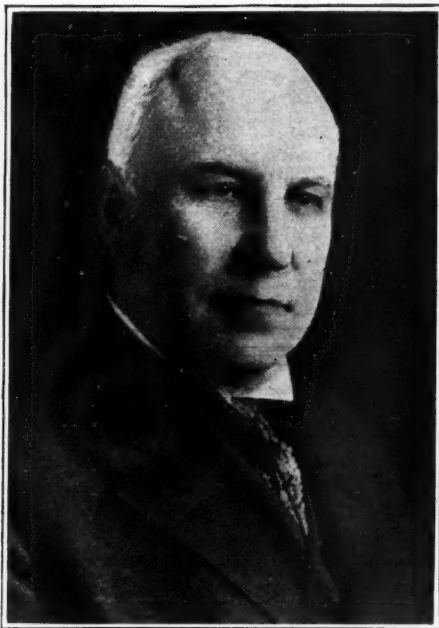
Photograph from U. S. Forest Service

VALLEY LANDS DESTROYED BY EROSION AND BY REDEPOSIT OF GRAVEL BARS AT CANE CREEK, N. C.

FRANKLIN K. LANE, AMERICAN

HIS PUBLIC CAREER AND HIS FORECASTS ON LEAVING OFFICE

BY WILLIAM E. SMYTHE



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HONORABLE FRANKLIN K. LANE, SECRETARY OF THE INTERIOR, 1913-20

"I LOOK on America as a great experiment—as much of an experiment as a human life. It is a living thing which can make determinations for itself. It must falter and fail at times that it may learn. The test is: *Does it carry on?*"

I stood with Franklin K. Lane at one of the southern windows of his office in the great building of the Interior Department—a monument, by the way, to his own administration, built in the second year of his term—gazing out across the Potomac to the snow-clad hills of Virginia, a few days before he surrendered his portfolio to become a private citizen. Looking back upon his twenty-one years of public service, and contemplating with genuine sadness the early

severance of his relations with great public affairs and with the thousands of men and women who have worked with him, rather than under him, he found himself in a philosophical mood and disposed to adventure into an undiscovered country—the social and economic future.

There is no more hospitable spot in official Washington than the Secretary's big office, fashioned after his own taste. (Congress gave him \$8000 for the purpose, and he spent \$1800 with excellent results.) In one corner of the room is Dallin's statuette of the Soldier Settler, which one day may be cast in bronze, heroic size, and set up in the midst of a smiling homeland, where now there is but silence and desolation; a table of odd design and an easy chair that would have delighted the heart of a Hawthorne, since these articles of furniture are far more suggestive of literature than of officialdom. And, most cheerful of all, the crackling logs on the hearth. "There are no joys like an open fire and a dog," he remarked, with smiling reference to a solemn conference of Cabinet and near-Cabinet officials, bureau chiefs, and leaders of Congress, at which his own dog had been conspicuously present—the frantic efforts of a colored messenger to the contrary notwithstanding.

"Yes," he repeated, "the acid test of America in the fateful years that lie just ahead is the answer to that question—Does it carry on? Our policies are to be determined always by the ends we have in view. Our fiber is to be judged by the steadfastness with which we pursue these ends. Our past history gives us what we call our traditional attitude. To gain and to maintain that attitude is the essence of Americanism; and it is an attitude that expresses itself from generation to generation in different ways because of different problems which must be met. Therefore we do not treat any bit of machinery as sacrosanct. We ask that it shall serve the high end of our na-

tional life, and, if it fails, it goes the way of the outgrown, the obsolescent."

"Do you mean that the time has come to change our institutions—in a word, for revolution?" I asked.

America an "Animated Hope"

He shook his head and wrinkled his brow with the air of a man who wishes to make his meaning very explicit. "America is to me not a rigid, automatic machine," he said, "but a climbing, animated hope; therefore, I am not unwilling to have anything that is American subjected to challenge, scrutiny, and study."

He paused a moment and then went on: "But I ask (and I think with reason) that what has been devised shall not be discarded until a thing better has been devised and can be substituted, and it must be proved to be better. There is the thought that I believe must be emphasized more and more to our people: That thinking in a vacuum is no better than dreaming; that the test of statesmanship or of the value of any plan is its practicability in an environment that is not ideal; that political institutions and social institutions are like religious institutions, based upon the recognition of imperfect human nature. It is far easier to be a Mazzini than a Cavour."

It struck me at the moment that the Secretary himself had succeeded in being both the dreamer and the builder. I know how he has impressed his great qualities of imagination upon his associates, and even upon the public, while there can be no question whatever about his achievements in the field of actual construction; but let us listen a little further to his philosophy, while he is in the mood:

"The American attitude toward our problems is that each man shall have his chance; but this chance must come to him under definite rules; it cannot come to him, we believe, in a condition of chaos. The American is not slobber-jawed and loose-minded, but a believer in definite and precise thinking, in planning, and in the value of purpose. Before he lifts his foot he wishes to know where his next foothold is to be. The mountain-top is his objective, and how he is to get there he cannot in detail say, but he knows that he cannot get there by looking at the mountain-top; he must keep his eyes on the immediate rock that he is scaling, for mountains are not climbed by flight, but by steps."

Apr.—6

"And the aim of it all is—" I suggested. He replied:

"Our aim is to make this the best of all lands; our belief is that we can accomplish this through the releasing of the latent qualities in all of the people; that no one, and no few, can do as much in this direction as all can if the inhibition of caste and of material dependence are lifted. Free men will formulate free institutions through which they can work in an orderly way, making waste only of those things which have proved useless."

"This I take to be the philosophy of American democracy. It is a philosophy of progress based on experiment, arising out of a sure faith that our attitude is unquestionably right, and that it will in time, and perhaps by difficult process, be translated into concrete social improvements."

Alaska as an Instance

I turned my mind back seven years to the beginning of his administration as Secretary of the Interior. The first and most urgent problem that awaited his decision was the troubled Territory of Alaska, enmeshed for years in acrimonious discussion; ruled by outside politicians; its resources bottled up in the name of conservation, and inaccessible for lack of internal transportation—the whole wonderful treasure-house little but the football of politics and the plaything of sensational journalism.

Did Alaska "carry on"? Hardly! It could not, under the circumstances. The new Secretary's first act was to nominate a real Alaskan as Governor—the first in the whole history of the Territory. Next, he urgently recommended the construction of a trunk railway from Seward to Fairbanks as the only possible way of opening the country to the enterprise of small capitalists as well as great. This railroad, now two-thirds finished, cost from \$60,000 to \$70,000 a mile, against \$221,052 per mile for the Government-built railroad across the Isthmus of Panama. Then came the leasing of the coal lands and the initiation of development in those neglected fields of vast potential value. Thus Alaska has become "a living thing" that could "carry on."

So, with our great resources of oil and water-power, the Lane philosophy—"development without waste"—is soon to be applied, after seven years of strenuous struggle for the necessary legislation, with incalculable benefit to the nation.

I returned to the Secretary's phrase—"concrete social improvements"—and asked him what these improvements should be. He replied:

"No one would attempt a full answer to such a question; the nearby answers are enough of a challenge. They grow out of what we have been learning for many years, but not realizing; and they may be said to consist of a series of discoveries.

"For instance, we have discovered our own illiteracy; that we, the boasted public-school nation, have millions of native-born, as well as foreign-born, who do not read the language of our laws, and millions more who cannot write a word of any language. That must be cured, and can be under such a law as the Kenyon Bill."

The Americanization Policy

The Kenyon Bill, which has recently passed the Senate and is now pending in the House, is the concrete expression of Secretary Lane's own policy of Americanization—a policy he has urged with passionate ardor, born of a sense of appalling danger inherent in widespread popular ignorance of our language, our history, and our ideals. If he had done nothing except to arouse the nation to this peril, and put the evil in the way of ultimate extinction, that single service would rank his name high among all who have sat at the Cabinet table from the beginning of the Republic. We must hear him further on this subject:

"Then we have discovered that free men are not always healthy men; that there is an amount of curable disease in this country that threatens to weaken the next generation as surely as it lessens the possibilities of this generation. If the States do not immediately learn the lesson the war has taught in this regard, the Federal Government will surely take over this field to itself—not because it wishes to, but because for national reasons it must. John D. Rockefeller has done more for the health of this nation than the Government of the United States, and neither one should have had to do anything, for it is the work of the States."

Realizing that he was about to take his hand from the wheel and leave this precious cause to others, and moved with the deepest earnestness for its final success, the Secretary walked up and down the room in silence for a moment, then turned to me and said, with the dramatic force of the orator that he is:

"If we could devote the years from 1920 to 1940 to an intensive campaign for getting possession of ourselves, realizing our crude resources in body and mind, we would lay the foundations for hundreds of years of splendid doings. The tools of life—a sound, usable body, and a mind that can have access to what others have found out—to give these tools of life to the largest possible number is a kind of socialism that not many will cavil at, for the ideals of democracy can hardly be realized when 25 per cent. of a war draft are isolated by ignorance and as many more discarded for physical reasons. Perhaps that does not suggest enough of a program for a generation!"

Homes for Millions—a Living Hope

He then turned to another subject which has occupied his mind and efforts for the past seven years, and which he is now compelled to pass on to others: "And we have found out that, physically, we are only discovering America; that we have tens of millions of acres of fine land that is unused, and many more unusable as it is; all of this can be reclaimed and made into homes. We must make country life more tolerable—to women especially—if we are not to become lopsided, running to city life and a mad industrialism. To cure this the Farms-for-Soldiers plan is a living hope."

Yes, and the Farms-for-Soldiers plan is not the only living hope of homes for men that Franklin K. Lane has planted in the hearts of American humanity. In his last annual report he proposes the nationalization of the reclamation movement which has wrought so greatly for the eighteen States of arid America in the past seventeen years. "We must liberate rich areas now held in bondage by the swamp, convert millions of acres of idle cut-over lands to profitable use, and raise from the dead the once vigorous agricultural life of our abandoned farms," he declared; and he suggested a concrete way to do it through the cooperation of the Government with private capital without the expenditure of Federal funds, in accordance with this principle: "Not what the Government can do for the people, but what the people can do for themselves under the intelligent and kindly leadership of the Government."

Remembering that it was he who urged the President to summon the representatives of capital, labor, and the public into friendly conference last October, at a moment when

the sky was black with threatened universal strikes, and that he had presided over what proved to be a disappointing adventure into the Land of Get-Together, I asked for an expression of his views on that question.

Relations of Labor and Capital

His response showed how deeply he had thought and how much he has learned from his contact with the captains of both sides during the past few years. I wonder if any statesman or economist has said anything finer than this:

"Labor and Capital—the Lamb and the Lion, Beauty and the Beast, Red Riding Hood and the Wolf—if these contrasts or combinations connote something real, then there is little prospect of peace for a long time in this or any other land. That is to say, if Labor is the good, the true, and the beautiful, and Capital is the incarnate principle of evil, then the fight is on until Labor triumphantly wins. But, if Capital means character in any part, or forethought, or natural leadership, or pluck, or organizing skill, or personal prestige, all incorporated into dollars; and Labor means an increasingly greater skill with hands and head (not a mere standardized bit of work that calls neither for initiative to get it nor struggle to do it), a moving, ambitious self-respect, a well-founded demand that the man shall be recognized—if these are Capital and Labor, then the problem is the human one of getting on together, and this is no more than one phase of civilization's whole movement from the primal day.

"I want to see this problem wrestled with until we lead the world in our ability to get on without constant civil war arising out of brutalities or wilfulness or indifference on the part of either. The first Industrial Conference was a charting expedition; it showed the rocks—some of them, at least. The second is an effort to find some course that promises a degree of safety. We will keep at it until we know the sea."

A Great Career

I looked back to my first meeting with Mr. Lane, eighteen years ago at Sacramento, one hot September afternoon. He was the central figure in a scene of tumultuous enthusiasm, acknowledging the cheers of the Democratic State Convention, as its nominee for Governor of California. He almost overcame a mountainous Republican majority—missing the election by only about

a thousand votes, and then because of the rejection of three times that number of ballots for technical reasons. Perhaps there has not been a quadrennial since when he could not have had the governorship for the asking.

I recalled his singularly successful service as Corporation Counsel of San Francisco, when he rendered a series of decisions on vital public questions, not one of which was reversed by the courts. These decisions were considered of sufficient importance to be perpetuated in a substantial volume.

I remembered his visit to the White House in the interest of the Hetch Hetchy water supply, and how President Roosevelt liked him at sight, and then there determined to appoint him to the first vacancy on the Interstate Commerce Commission. As member, and finally, Chairman, of that important tribunal, he repeated his early experience by rendering a series of decisions on fundamental problems that were sustained by the highest courts in the land. Among those decisions was that which made interstate pipe-lines common carriers; also the Shreveport case, in which he denied the right of the State to discriminate against interstate commerce by granting preferential rates to local trade, regardless of the distance covered. He handled the novel and momentous questions involved in the Harriman consolidation of railroad and steamship lines; the long- and short-haul cases arising in Nevada; the complaints of the associated jobbers of Los Angeles, San Francisco, and other cities, in regard to the switching charges, and other matters of large and lasting consequence to the national economy. He served with distinction on the International Railway Commission as representative of the United States; on the Central Committee of the American National Red Cross; on the American-Mexican High Commission of 1916, and on the great Council of National Defense.

Standing at the apex of his public usefulness, in the prime of his intellectual and physical power, and at a momentous time in the life of the nation he has loved and served, it seemed little less than a tragedy that he must retire to enter upon private business in order to make the provision which every man owes to his family. To how many minds will the thought occur that if he had been born in the United States instead of Prince Edward Island he might be the Moses to lead his countrymen

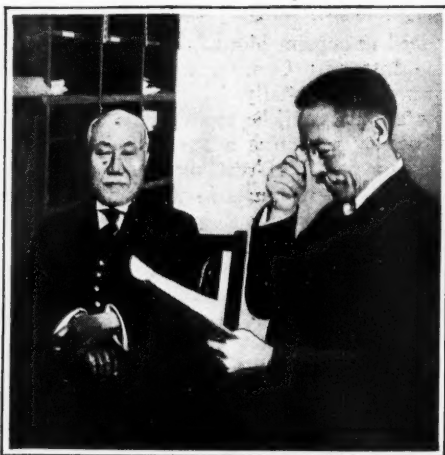
out of the bondage of fear and doubt into the promised land of economic peace?

"Well, Mr. Secretary," I said, "now give me a final word for the people." He smiled in his characteristically warming and benevolent way, as he replied:

"Above all else in this country we need now a group of men of constructive imaginations, sound sense, large appreciation of the

values in America, spiritual and physical, who can sit down together year in and year out and plan for our orderly progress. We are running on hunches, treating symptoms—not studying problems and devising ways of meeting them practically. American democracy has not provided this group of Elder Statesmen, this Cabinet of National Engineering, but it will come."

THE FRANCHISE IN JAPAN



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MR. YUKIO OZAKI, FORMER CABINET MINISTER AND NOW LEADER IN THE NATION-WIDE AGITATION FOR MANHOOD SUFFRAGE IN JAPAN

(In the photograph Mr. Ozaki is reading the first draft of the suffrage bill in conference with the leaders of his party, the Kensei-Kai)

NOT a little surprise was occasioned in this country by the publication late in February of cable dispatches stating that the Japanese Diet had been dissolved by Imperial decree as a result of differences of opinion between the Cabinet and party leaders in the Diet regarding the extension of the franchise. Under the Japanese constitution a new election must be held within five months.

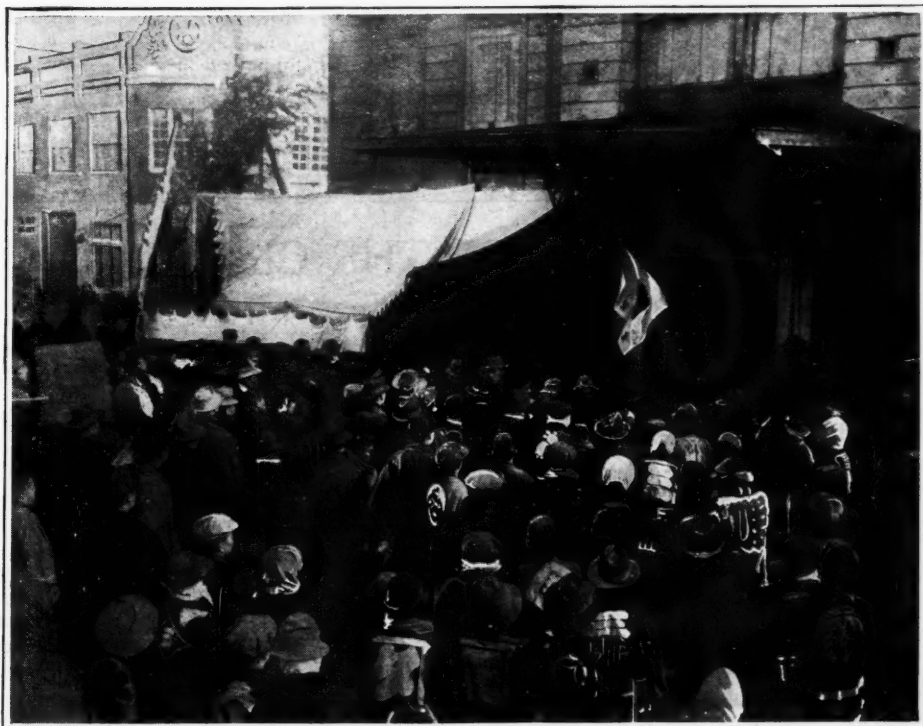
Perhaps it is not generally understood in America that less than 6 per cent. of the Japanese population now has the vote. Mr. Putnam Weale recently stated in *Current History* that the franchise, even with the recent lowering of voters' qualifications to the payment of direct taxes amounting to

\$1.50 per annum, is limited to 3,500,000 persons out of a total population of 60,000,000. According to Mr. Weale, the device of the direct-tax qualification disfranchises most of the modernized urban population and concentrates in the conservative country districts. Tens of thousands of educated men pay no direct taxes at all. The entire body of labor, farm laborers and mechanics, is excluded, even under the extension adopted in the legislation of two years ago.

A powerful agitation for universal male suffrage has been under way in Japan for some time. The Socialists have been especially active in this movement. In Parliament the leading opposition party—the Kensei-Kai—introduced a measure conferring the vote on all males without regard to property or educational qualifications and made it the chief issue of the recent session. Such rapid headway was made by the supporters of this bill that the Ministry seems to have feared to permit the matter to come to a test vote, and so applied to the Emperor for a writ of dissolution.

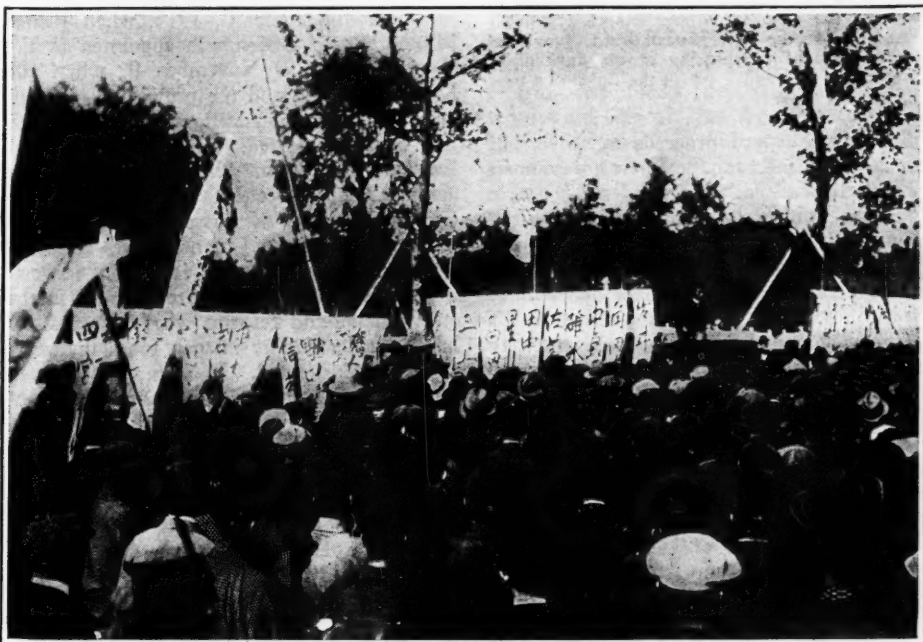
Mr. Yukio Ozaki, one of the leaders in the national movement for franchise extension, has had an important career in Japanese politics. He was Minister of Education under Count Okuma in 1898, and for nine years, beginning in 1903, served as Mayor of Tokio. He is an essayist and orator of marked power. Scenes at suffrage mass-meetings in Tokio are shown on the opposite page.

During the thirty years which have elapsed since the present constitutional government was instituted in Japan there have been forty-one sessions of the Diet. Seventeen cabinets have held office during this period, the terms averaging less than two years each.



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DEMONSTRATION FOR JAPANESE MANHOOD SUFFRAGE BY WORKMEN AND STUDENTS OF TOKIO



© K. Adachi

MORE THAN SIXTY ASSOCIATIONS AND LEAGUES IN ALL PARTS OF JAPAN ARE REPRESENTED IN THIS SUFFRAGE DEMONSTRATION AT HIBIYA PARK, TOKIO

LEADING ARTICLES OF THE MONTH

VICISSITUDES OF THE GERMAN REPUBLIC

OBSERVERS from the outside have never been able to satisfy themselves as to the real nature of the German government under President Ebert which was overthrown last month. In the *American Political Science Review* for February Mr. Walter James Shepard, of the University of Missouri, gives voice to the suspicion that had been very generally held in this country as to the genuineness of the revolution of 1918. He says:

The war, with its shattering of national ideals, its appalling toll of life, the grinding misery which it imposed, and the insuperable financial bondage to which it condemned the nation for an indefinite future, might account for a thorough popular disillusionment which would sweep the nation into the current of democracy. But if this were the case, we would expect a general enthusiasm for the new government, an evident popular sense of the passing of the dark night of autocratic rule and a joy in the light of a new and happier day.

But Mr. Shepard proceeds to show that such an enthusiasm for the Ebert government never really existed. He divides the people of Germany into three main classes: First, a minority, consisting of nationalists and militarists who bitterly opposed the republic and agitated at every favorable opportunity for the restoration of the monarchy in its old form; second, another comparatively small group made up of the revolutionaries, the Spartacists, with some of the Independent Socialists, who were just as strongly opposed to the government and wherever possible used the instruments of "direct action" to bring about the revolution which in their opinion had not yet been accomplished; third, the vast mass of the nation, which seemed to Mr. Shepard to be "utterly indifferent with respect to forms of government." Of the individuals who made up this majority Mr. Shepard says:

Any régime which makes life easier, gives them something to eat and protects them from civil war, commands their temporary support. They are essentially opportunists awaiting the turn of events. Of real adherents on principle to republican, parliamentary, genuinely democratic government, there appear to be very few in Germany.

EIGHTEEN MONTHS OF GERMAN GOVERNMENT

The Ebert government, then, was created and maintained upon this uncertain and precarious basis of public opinion. In order to understand more clearly the recent trend of events in Germany, we may profit by the recapitulation of the successive stages of the revolution of 1918 as set forth by Mr. Shepard. As he considers it, the revolution falls into four stages: The first covered the period from October 3, 1918, when Prince Maximilian of Baden was appointed to the chancellorship, to November 9, when the Kaiser abdicated and the provisional government under the chancellorship of Friedrich Ebert was established. Since it was clear that the war was ending disastrously for Germany, a desperate effort was made to introduce such liberal measures as would satisfy the demands of the Entente Allies and conciliate the revolutionary forces in the nation. Several Socialists were included in the government, and reforms which progressives had been demanding in vain for many years were now instituted. In form, the German Constitution became as liberal as the English. Mr. Shepard calls this phase the bourgeois revolution.

The second phase was that of the provisional government under Ebert as Chancellor, extending from November 9, 1918, to the convening of the National Assembly on February 6, 1919. The government was in the hands of the Majority Socialists, though there was little change in the personnel of the higher administrative posts. Under the

law of November 30, which provided for a universal manhood and womanhood suffrage and proportional representation, the elections were held for the National Assembly. The government merely tried to hold things together until the assembly should convene.

The third phase extended from the meeting of the assembly to the promulgation of the Constitution on August 13. The assembly at once adopted a provisional constitution, under which Ebert was chosen President of the Republic and in turn appointed Philip Scheidemann chancellor. A ministry made up, with one exception, of majority Socialists and Centrists was organized and the government assumed a more regular character. Scheidemann, who opposed the acceptance of the terms of peace offered by the Allies, was forced to retire on June 20 and a new ministry under Gustav Bauer was installed. This change, however, did not affect the general character of the government, which was still supported by the Socialist-Centrist coalition in the National Assembly.

The fourth phase of the revolution in Germany was ushered in with the promulgation of the constitution on August 13. Ebert took the oath of office under the new constitution as President of the Republic and the Bauer ministry was continued. No change was made in policy or personnel. The National Assembly now took the place of the regular Reichstag.

THE GERMAN PRESIDENCY

Mr. Shepard proceeds to describe the general features of the constitution. We can mention here only a few of its provisions. (An accurate English translation of the document can be obtained, on application, from the World Peace Foundation, Boston, Mass.) Under its terms the Reichstag remains the representative body for the German nation as a unity. The members are absolved from obedience to instructions from their constituents. They are to be chosen by universal, equal, direct, and secret manhood and womanhood suffrage on the basis of proportional representation. Their term is shortened from five to four years and annual sessions are required. The President of the Republic may dissolve the Reichstag, but only once for the same cause. He is not limited, as was the Kaiser, in this power by the necessity of securing the consent of the Bundesrath. New elections must be held within sixty days after dissolution of the Reichstag

or the expiration of its constitutional term. Provisions regarding the President of the Republic are summarized as follows:

He is chosen by the whole German people, and must have completed his thirty-fifth year. Further details concerning his election and qualification are left to subsequent legislation. His term of office, seven years, is what the French would call a *septennat personnel*. If a vacancy occurs, a new president is elected for a new period of seven years and not for the unexpired term. Pending such election, or in case of temporary incapacity, the chancellor performs the functions of the office. The President is not subject to prosecution except with the sanction of the Reichstag. The provision of his removal is unique. On proposal by two-thirds of the Reichstag he is subject to recall by popular vote. During the period between the vote of the Reichstag and the referendum he is not permitted to exercise the functions of the office. In case the referendum sustains the President, it counts as a new election for the constitutional term of seven years and automatically entails the dissolution of the Reichstag.

The powers of the President include the representation of the nation in matters of international law, the accrediting and receiving of ambassadors, and the conclusion of treaties and alliances; but declarations of war and the conclusion of peace require national legislation, and alliances and treaties relating to subjects covered by national law require the approval of the Reichstag. The President possesses the power of appointment and removal of officials in the civil and military service, and may delegate this power to other officials. He has supreme command of the military forces of the nation. He may use the armed forces to compel a state to perform its constitutional or legal duties. When public security and order are disturbed and armed intervention becomes necessary, he may suspend the constitutional guaranties of personal freedom, the secrecy of the post, telegraph and telephone services, the right of assembly, the right of association, and the right to the possession of private property; but in these cases his action must be immediately reported to the Reichstag, which may revoke them.

After a survey of social and political conditions in Germany, made during a tour of the country in the fall of 1919, Mr. Otto H. Luken stated in *Current History* for February:

Germany needs a strong government supported by a nation which believes that the masses can be brought into order. However, there does not seem to be a people: there are only individuals who think of themselves alone. There is a minimum of altruism and a maximum of egotism. The only strong man in the government is the Minister of Defense, Noske. The Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Hermann Müller, a former labor union leader and party journalist, although a very capable and honest man, will hardly be able to bring about the necessary reform in his

department. So far no important appointments or changes in the personnel have been made which would indicate that the system of diplomacy of the past is to be discontinued. On the contrary, in this department, as well as in others, the Socialist chiefs have in many respects adopted the manners and customs of their predecessors. Only a month ago one of the most influential councilors of Bethmann-Hollweg and one of the most industrious and loyal agents of his system, the Privy Councilor, Dr. Riezler, was appointed Cabinet Chief of the German President.

OBSERVATIONS IN GERMANY

AN unsigned article in the *Quarterly Review* (London) contains much shrewd observation of the present condition of Germany, and lays particular stress upon the necessity of a clear statement by the Allies with regard to the future restrictions upon German trade.

Vital and admirable as the work of the German Government has been, it is not of a kind to strike the imagination of the masses, or to reconcile them to the needs and trials of the moment, and win for the institutions and men of the new régime a lasting prestige. Broadly speaking, there were two achievements capable of producing such an effect: peace, and the restoration of normal life on a reformed social basis. The German Government has failed in both. The bulk of the German people frankly admit the mistakes and responsibilities of the old régime, and are prepared to accept impositions much in excess of what they had been led to expect at the time of the armistice. As to the causes which are impeding the economic reconstruction and the proposed social reforms, they can largely be traced to the mistaken policy of a Supreme Council and of its agents, and are of such a nature as not only to foreshadow the collapse of the economic portion of the Treaty, which is inevitable, but moreover, cannot fail, unless speedily remedied, to create new burdens where the Allied peoples were led to expect relief.

Contrary to the intentions of the treaty and to the decisions of the Economic Conference which met at Brussels, the German authorities are denied control over imports and exports on their Western frontier. Through this "Gap in the West" the country has been flooded with expensive luxuries. Between the spring of 1919 and the end of November last year, for instance, the import of cigarettes which was in theory prohibited by law reached the amazing figure of four milliard marks—a sum nominally equal to the indemnity exacted from France in 1870.

The failure to define Germany's obligations is having an infinitely depressing and disruptive effect.

A bold scheme of synthetic economic reconstruction had originally been worked out from ideas evolved by one of the most brilliant of living Germans, Walther Rathenau, manufacturer, man of science, economist and publicist. But what government would invest its authority in schemes which, at any moment, may founder upon a decree of the Supreme Council? So the responsible minister, Wiessel, and his ingenious *Plan-Wirtschaft*, were dropped. There could be no more suggestive comment on the prevailing mentality than the words addressed by Wiessel's successor, upon taking up his duties, to his assembled subordinates: "My plan," he declared, "is to have no plan." And planless the life of the whole German nation is becoming.

The propertied classes, in so far as they have not smuggled their money beyond the frontiers, find no inducement in productive work; whereas workers and clerks spend all they earn. Why should they save, if all their savings are to be seized by the foreigner? All are tempted, very naturally after so many years of privation, to make the best of the present moment. "We are becoming a dancing people," said a well-known economist to the writer. Uncertainty is discouraging all effort and enterprise, and is making of the evasion of taxation a wide-spread practice. For the conviction is growing that any addition to private and public wealth would only serve to screw up Allied demands. That such is the effect of Allied policy is corroborated by the fact, confirmed by various bankers of standing, that private financial dealings have suffered but little deprivation, whereas a complete lack of scruple prevails in financial relations with the authorities.

The complete demoralization of the German people strikes every observer, and appears infinitely tragic to anyone who, before the war, had learned to appreciate and respect the integrity of the German officials.

Those who came into contact with German officials before the war, and had learned to appreciate their moral rectitude, combined though it often was with arrogance and bad manners, will experience a rude shock on revisiting the country. The change is distressing, because it illustrates, more strikingly than many other less obvious phenomena, the moral ravages of an ill-

considered and unjust policy. Under the corroding actions of excessive material impositions and moral humiliations, many of those subtle, unwritten social customs and laws, which more than anything else form the substance of Western civilization, are becoming inoperative. A whole people, and one rich with progressive potentialities, is losing its self-respect. No other expression can more adequately summarize the situation, and convey a sense of the dangerous path upon which Europe is being led, than the suggestive term used by a German statesman, when he complained that we were causing a general *Entmenschung* (dehumanizing) of his countrymen.

Reconstruction in the widest sense of the word, and a revival of trade and industry, are obviously the only safeguard against despair and violence, and therefore the only means by which the solvency of Germany, and her ability to pay even the sums already demanded of her, can be restored.

Consequently it is to the interest of the Allies that this restoration should take place, and as speedily as possible. But it cannot really begin until the disastrous uncertainty, which now hangs, like the sword of Damocles, over Germany's head, is removed. Until the German Government knows whether it will have to provide five or eight or ten thousand millions—in other words,

whether the sum is to be one which in course of time it may be able to pay, or one which will inevitably spell national bankruptcy and ruin—reconstruction on any considered plan, and given the moral and industrial revival on which solvency depends, are out of the question. The Supreme Economic Council and the Reparation Commission must take the situation in hand without delay; and the latter body, in particular, should be instructed to bear in mind, when making its final estimates, that excessive demands may mean the failure to get anything at all. No one in his senses now believes in the complete reimbursement of our war-losses which was so recklessly promised fourteen months ago. We may, indeed, agree that Germany, for her crime in initiating the war and for her brutalities in the waging of it, deserves to be made to pay the uttermost farthing; but what we have to guard against is that madness of revenge which recoils upon itself.

Nor will it suffice to rest content with this negative restriction of our demands; we must initiate and carry out a positive policy. The German Empire was, in matters of trade, our best customer before the war; we cannot afford to destroy so productive a source of national income, or to deprive our debtor of the only means by which she can be enabled to pay her debts. Commercial relations—under certain restrictions, no doubt—should be reestablished and fostered immediately on the ratification of the peace; and the renewal of political relations must follow.

THE FARMER PREMIER OF ONTARIO

AMONG our Canadian neighbors the latest political sensation, is the rapid rise to power of the United Farmers of Ontario, a new party. The leader of this five-year-old organization, the Hon. E. C. Drury, was asked to form a cabinet, and since November last has been the first farmer Prime Minister of the Province.

As to the policy that the new government in Ontario may be expected to adopt, Jean Graham says in the *Canadian Magazine*:

At first, the lifelong Liberals and the die-hard Conservatives were highly disconcerted by the results of Ontario's voting, and wondered greatly what would become of this or that department and who would be the Leader of His Majesty's Loyal Opposition. As the days went by and no calamity appeared to befall the new government, the fearful of heart took comfort from the fact that the farmer will be an uncompromising foe of any measures resembling Bolshevism.

Men whose forefathers have possessed the land are not given to encore a speaker who deals lightly with property and who thinks the first duty of citizenship is to cause an upheaval. Mr. Drury and several members of the cabinet he has formed are men who represent the third or



HON. E. C. DRURY, PREMIER OF ONTARIO

fourth generation on the broad acres which they hold. Such citizens as these are not going to salute the Red Flag—nor will they tolerate the unfurling of its folds. The new Premier has promised that there is to be no class legislation—and he is a true democrat, with a due regard for law and order. He has indicated that the Big Interests have nothing to fear, so long as they are good and obedient, but that any tendency to play the game of "grab" will be summarily checked. The manufacturer's needs have been a prime consideration for so many years that the farmer need not apologize for chuckling when he considers himself in the light of a land mag-

nate to whom the corporation authorities may find it expedient to defer.

The policy of Prohibition will be carried out in accordance with the expression of Ontario's desire in the matter of as rigid restriction of the liquor traffic as relations with the other provinces will allow. Mr. Drury is personally in favor of Prohibition—as, indeed, are most farmers in Canada. The country tavern has proved itself a nuisance and a curse, and the farmer has seen for himself that John Barleycorn usually holds the first mortgage on the old homestead. So the blind pig is not to be tolerated in the Ontario farmyard.

EXPERIMENTS WITH THE HELICOPTER

THE flying-machine of a few decades hence may be a very different affair from the one of to-day. The principles embodied in aeroplanes—whether biplanes, monoplanes or others—may, perhaps, be cast aside in favor of some fundamentally different idea. Two other important types of flyers have enjoyed a theoretical existence for many years, though they have not advanced much beyond theory. These are the ornithopter, with flapping wings, and the helicopter, with direct-lifting screw designed for permitting it to rise vertically in the air.

The story of the helicopter goes back to the year 1784, when two Frenchmen, Launoy and Bienvenue, exhibited before the French Academy a small pair of oppositely rotating screws driven by an elastic wooden bow, which lifted itself in the air quite readily. In 1842 Horatio Phillips, in England, produced a small steam-driven helicopter, which rose successfully and traveled for some distance in the air. In 1878 a larger device of this sort, invented by Prof. Forlanini, rose to a height of 42 feet, lifting about 26 pounds per horse-power. More recently, man-lifting helicopters have been produced in France by Cornu and Bréguet, but they have not proved satisfactory for horizontal flight.

An article by Mr. R. G. Skerrett, in the *Scientific American*, tells us that two well-known American engineers, Prof. Francis B. Crocker and Dr. Peter Cooper Hewitt, have revived the project of the helicopter, with encouraging results. Mr. Skerrett says:

To one familiar with the art of mechanical flight, it is an old story that the airplane propeller is a relatively inefficient instrument of propulsion—that a very large percentage of the power delivered by the engines is lost simply because the screw fails to get a good hold upon

the air. To make matters worse, this "slip" grows in geometric ratio as the speed of revolution mounts higher and higher. Therefore, to provide the needful measure of sustentation, the flying machine's wings are given more and more surface in order to utilize the buoyant reactions of the atmosphere; for the wings are relatively much better able to play their part in keeping the craft aloft than is the propeller, as it exists in general service.

In the helicopter the blades of the propeller take the place of wings. This device has been subjected to much ridicule, and, in recent years, has been little heard of. The war was responsible for the renewed efforts above mentioned, to turn it to practical account. Concerning the experiments of Messrs. Crocker and Hewitt we read:

The machine was assembled and put through its paces at Amperre, New Jersey, last year. It was called into being as a possible aid in fighting the Teutons and the cessation of hostilities stopped further trials for the time; but before the tests were concluded it was amply demonstrated that a helicopter had been produced of a unique form which might come to stand in a class distinct from those machines of an allied type which had proved so disappointing. Doctor Hewitt and Professor Crocker accomplished their ends by breaking away from the lines of endeavor previously pursued by engineers and inventors. In particular they appear to have produced propellers of a far more efficient order than any airplane screws now on the market. Indeed, this may rightly be said to have been the key to their attacks upon the problem.

The airplane propeller that develops a lift or thrust of 10 pounds per horse-power on a fast machine is the exception rather than the rule, and a very large number of them do not give more than 6 or 7 pounds per engine horse-power. This would not do, of course, in a helicopter, where lift and sustentation must be secured by the thrust of the screws alone. The propellers finally produced gave a lift of 2550 pounds for 126.5 horse-power when making but 70 revolutions a minute! That is, the thrust was at the rate of 20.2 pounds per horse-power.

THE ECONOMICS OF THE PEACE TREATY

A NEW turn was given to the discussion of the terms of the Treaty of Versailles by the publication early this year of "The Economic Consequences of the Peace," by John Maynard Keynes. Before this book appeared most of the debate over the treaty on this side of the Atlantic, at any rate, had been concerned with the political aspects of the document.

Mr. Keynes is an economic expert (editor of the *British Economic Journal*), who as an official of the British Treasury prepared the British case for the Peace Conference on economic and financial questions. During the conference, he was in fact the principal adviser of the British delegation on such questions, and a member of the Supreme Economic Council. He is perhaps as well qualified as any man in the world to speak authoritatively on the economic issues of the war and the peace. For this reason his analysis of what he termed the blunders of the Peace Conference and his disclosure of the successive steps in the negotiations at Paris have had a sensational effect.

The chief points made by Mr. Keynes in his book were well summarized in the *Sun* and *New York Herald* by Mr. Paul D. Cravath, of New York, who himself had excellent opportunities for studying Europe's economic condition during and after the war. The following paragraphs are quoted from Mr. Cravath's admirable review:

What Keynes seeks to demonstrate is that the Treaty of Paris is a colossal blunder and, until radically revised, will be a menace of unparalleled portent to the peace, prosperity, and happiness not only of Europe but of the entire civilized world. His arraignment of the treaty may be summarized under two heads; first, that it was a gross breach by the Allies of the contract entered into with Germany under the leadership of President Wilson when the Allies, subject to certain reservations, accepted the terms laid down in the President "Fourteen Points" and his subsequent addresses as the basis of the peace that was to follow the armistice.

Keynes says: "The nature of the contract between Germany and the Allies resulting from this exchange of documents is plain and unequivocal. . . . The circumstances of the contract were of an unusually solemn and binding character; for one of the conditions of it was that Germany should agree to armistice terms which were to be such as would leave her helpless. Germany having rendered herself helpless in reliance on the contract, the honor of the Allies was peculiarly involved in fulfilling their part and, if there were ambiguities, in not using their position to take advantage of them."

He then proceeds with merciless logic to demonstrate in how many ways the terms of the treaty, which Germany was forced to accept without being given an opportunity to discuss its provisions, disregarded the contract. One of the most interesting chapters is the one which tells the story of how the President was led step by step to abandon his contract, always convincing himself that he "would do nothing that was not honorable, he would do nothing that was not just and right; he would do nothing that was contrary to his great profession of faith."

He does the President the justice of attributing to him sincerity. He says: "In spite of everything I believe his [the President's] temperament allowed him to leave Paris a really sincere man; and it is probable that to this day he is genuinely convinced that the treaty contains practically nothing inconsistent with his former confessions."

The climax of Keynes' analysis of the President comes when he describes Mr. Lloyd George's well known attempt to secure the softening of the treaty when at the last moment he took fright at its economic severities. "To his horror, Mr. Lloyd George," says Keynes, "desiring at the last moment all the modifications he dared, discovered that he could not in five days persuade the President of error in what it had taken five months to prove him to be just and right. After all, it was harder to de-bamboozle this old Presbyterian than it had been to bamboozle him; for the former involved his belief in, and respect for, himself. Thus in the last act the President stood for stubbornness and a refusal of conciliations."

It is against the economic and financial provisions of the treaty that Keynes directs his heaviest batteries. He shows with a singular clarity of analysis how Clemenceau, from beginning to end, was controlled by his conception of the peace that was required for France's safety, how he dominated the Prime Minister, who did not care what France got provided Great Britain got her deserts and finally how he dominated the President by convincing him that the peace that Germany was forced to take, whatever it might appear to be, was, after all, the peace of the Fourteen Points with a bitter coating that the Germans deserved.

The importance of the Keynes book as a report of the Peace Conference is also emphasized by Mr. Joseph P. Cotton, writing in the *New York Evening Post*. He characterizes the book as "the first report of these things by an entirely honest man of first-rate intelligence, first-hand knowledge of what went on at Paris, and good general information concerning European conditions and history."

There has been heretofore no public knowledge—as opposed to gossip and suspicion—as to what really happened at Paris. Whatever else the treaty was, it was not an open covenant openly arrived at. We have known that the treaty was a compromise, but we have had little idea as to

what views were compromised—what France urged or what France reluctantly accepted, and, save as to the tussle of opinion as to Fiume, the American public has had no idea what the American representatives in Paris asked for, worked for, or why they accepted what they did.

There has been no attempt by the President to explain the treaty or defend its terms, save to emphasize that it creates, by the League of Nations, a conference room for the nations which may well be a valuable substitute for the machinery of diplomacy, and certain valuable agreements of the nations as to retardation of war. Outside of the matter of Shantung it is fair to say that the only point connected with the treaty or the League generally discussed in America has been the question of the surrender of sovereignty by the United States involved in entering into any scheme of any kind for coöperation in European affairs.

Yet Keynes' book shows—and, to the satisfaction of any but the most partisan, proves—that in the negotiations of the Paris Conference, behind closed doors the President, without plan and without constructive suggestions and without assistance from his colleagues or his assistants, was constantly overmatched by the Tiger and the gentleman whom *Punch* pictures as the "Welsh lightweight," and that he was driven at the last to consent to a treaty which flagrantly and repeatedly violates the terms which Germany accepted as the basis for the armistice and the "Fourteen Points," a treaty which leaves Germany and Austria in a condition of economic serfdom for an indefinite period, and places upon Germany the payment of an impossible indemnity. Keynes proves that the treaty was a bad job, badly planned and badly done, and that Continental Europe—left as it is under the treaty—inevitably faces economic bankruptcy and decay—a long, silent process of semi-starvation and a lowering of the standards of life and comfort and civilization which must surely affect the allied as well as the conquered nations.

Approval of Mr. Keynes' benevolent attitude toward Germany is by no means unanimous. Thus, Professor Charles H. Haskins, of Harvard, who has given special attention to the question of the Sarre mines, takes serious exception to Mr. Keynes' treatment of this question. In a letter to the *New York Evening Post*, he admits that the "Economic Consequences of the Peace" is a brilliant book, but does not regard it as entirely trustworthy. He says:

Throughout the book the author's economic conceptions are curiously static. He pleads for the restoration of pre-war conditions as far as possible, irrespective of the fact that they gave Germany a position of peculiar advantage in Europe, and he opposes any correction of this balance in favor either of France or of the new states of the East. Having adopted a Germanocentric theory of European economic life, he follows it through. A little more imagination would show him that many readjustments are possible with the opening up of new natural resources and lines of trade and with the extension of the in-

dustrial revolution to eastern Europe; and a little more sympathy with non-German peoples would show him the injustice of reestablishing a state of affairs which Germany exploited to her own selfish advantage. Readjustment inevitably causes hardship in Germany, but it is necessary to prevent German dominance over peoples whom the war has at last set free. And when an economist tries to clinch a long argument on reparation by an appeal for German children, we are obliged to remind him that there are also French and Belgian and Polish and Serbian and Italian children whose claims deserve equal consideration.

Mr. Keynes' final chapter, in which he discusses possible remedies for the perilous situation resulting from the treaty, has been more savagely criticized in America than any other part of the book. Concerning the proposition that the Allies should cancel all the debts they owe each other, debts incurred for the purposes of the war, Professor Hazen, of Columbia University, says in the *New York Times* of February 29:

As far as the United States is concerned, this means about \$10,000,000,000 wiped off. Mr. Keynes' method of argumentation is peculiar and somewhat invidious. If the Allies do not do this, what will happen? They will be exacting intolerable "indemnities" from each other. In the case of "victorious France" she "must pay her friends and Allies more than four times the indemnity which in the defeat of 1870 she paid Germany. The hand of Bismarck was light compared with that of an Ally or an Associate."

We doubt if any Frenchman has had this brilliant thought that the hand of the Ally lies more heavily, upon him than Bismarck's. It does not require an exceptionally acute mind to see some difference between borrowing from a friend for the purpose of saving your country and having an enemy extort an indemnity from you and also take some of your provinces.

Unless these Inter-Allied loans are cancelled he expects that the allied nations will try to evade payment and that the demand for repudiation will arise, and this demand he apparently approves if necessary. "In short, I do not believe that any of these tributes will continue to be paid, at the best, for more than a very few years. *They do not square with human nature or agree with the spirit of the age.*" The italics are mine, put there because the sentiments expressed struck me very forcibly, and because the reader, reflecting on them, may get additional light as to the value of Mr. Keynes' guidance through the troubles of our time. Mr. Keynes admits that "It might be an exaggeration to say that it is impossible for the European Allies to pay the capital and interest due from them on these debts, but to make them do so would certainly be to impose a crushing burden." If they prove to be crushing, they can be reduced and relieved, can they not, without being repudiated? There is some distance between these two extremes. At any rate we can imagine the enthusiasm that would be shown in Congress for a bill cancelling ten billions of debt.

THE PEACE CONFERENCE DEFENDED

IN all the hostile criticism of the Peace Conference that has recently flooded the British and American press few attempts have been made to set forth impartially the difficulties and dangers that surrounded the framing of the Treaty. At least one such attempt has been made by Mr. Headlam-Morley, of the British Foreign Office, in an article contributed to the first number of *Discovery* and summarized by the London *Review of Reviews*.

VIENNA (1814) CONTRASTED WITH PARIS (1919)

"It is natural," says this writer, "to compare the Congress of Paris with the Congress of Vienna, and I fear that in the minds of many the result of the comparison has been, as it was expressed to me by a great scholar: 'I think we are all beginning to think better of the Congress of Vienna.' . . . But if we are to make the comparison, let us recognize at once that Paris had difficulties to meet from which Vienna was freed."

It is pointed out that in 1814 two things had to be done: (1) the settlement of the terms of peace between France and the Great Alliance, and (2) the settlement of numerous questions relating to the assignation of territory surrendered by France. These two stages were kept distinct. Peace was made with France within a few weeks; with the result that European powers were able to apply themselves in comparative leisure to the other problems.

In 1919 a different procedure was adopted; the whole settlement of Europe had to be made under the form of treaties of peace, and the settlement between the Allies themselves, a settlement in which inevitably strong differences of opinion must appear, had to be made while the state of war still continued.

Another difficulty arose from this procedure, viz., that direct communication with the enemy governments was excluded. A study of the text of the treaties will show that they deal, often in great detail, with matters of great complexity; this is especially the case in the chapters dealing with financial and commercial matters. Merely as a matter of procedure, the work would have been much facilitated had it been possible to discuss these matters around the table with the German delegates; the possibility of this was, however, excluded.

Another result was that there was thrown upon the Conference, not only the task of making peace, but the even more serious task of controlling the affairs of Europe during the process. What had to be done for the temporary administration of those districts whose ultimate fate had to be de-

termined? Many of these were the subject of acute controversy between our own Allies, and this threw upon the Conference the responsibility of keeping order in these disputed territories, and at times even preventing open hostilities between the Allied states themselves.

In 1814 there were no railways to consider; in 1919 "it was impossible to determine the frontiers without taking into consideration the lines of communication."

WERE THE FOURTEEN POINTS IGNORED?

But perhaps the most striking difference between Paris and Vienna arose out of the peculiar nature of the terms of the Armistice, in which were specified the general principles in accordance with which the peace was to be made. Germany had laid down her arms and the Allies had agreed to an armistice on the condition that the ultimate peace should be in accordance with certain principles which had been stated by President Wilson. These are generally referred to as the "Fourteen Points," but it is worth while remembering that they were, in fact, not limited to the fourteen points specified in his speech of January, 1918; there was also included in the correspondence preceding the Armistice a reference to any later statements that he made. In fact, the other statements which he made comprised four other lists of points in a categorical form, and made in subsequent speeches or official messages.

It has been stated that the Conference completely ignored the Fourteen Points, that they were not considered. This can be emphatically denied. Each individual can, of course, only speak as to his own personal experience, and this is necessarily limited to those parts of the discussions with which he was immediately concerned. I may at least be allowed to record my own experience. It is that throughout the discussions there was constantly present to the minds of those who took part in them, and frequent reference made to, the principles of the peace, and I can affirm, on immediate and personal knowledge, that in the Council of Four itself the decision on matters of the highest importance was determined by explicit reference to the Fourteen Points—*e. g.* a decision favorable to the Allies, and for which there were many grounds of expediency, would be rejected solely because it could not be reconciled with the pledges which had been given. But the principles by which the work had to be guided had not been expressed in a manner which made their translation into precise legal form easy; to a large extent they were general conceptions, aspirations, exhortations, and some of them were not easy to reconcile with one another.

Mr. Headlam-Morley gives some interesting illustrations of the problems arising out of the various Wilsonian dicta. The article is certainly one to be read for the light it throws on the complexity of the Conference's debates and decisions.

THE PROBLEM OF EGYPT

THE Egyptian question is dealt with—from the standpoint of colonial administration—by Major Lindsay Bashford in an article on "Lord Milner and His Mission" in the *Nineteenth Century* (February). After a glowing appreciation of the mission's personnel, Major Bashford refers to the increase of the "Egypt for the Egyptians" party:

Thus . . . I was not surprised when, in Paris on a January afternoon of this year, the Nationalist leader Zaghlul Pasha emphatically stated to me that the Egyptian issue had passed from party to nation. Somewhat bombastically, no doubt, this astute Egyptian affirmed that he was the leader of a people, not yet, perhaps, organized for common action but informed by a common ideal.

Zaghlul Pasha, comfortably installed in the Champs-Élysées, may appear to the general view but a hedonistic champion of a remote cause, but it is impossible to forget that in Egypt there are some fourteen million Egyptians, gradually being educated, according to English program, to some conception of nationality, whilst within the same confines there are only some 24,000 Britishers. One may be certain that the 56,000 Greeks, the 40,000 Italians and the 21,000 French who with the British community comprise the European section of the population, and are, indeed, the dominating factor in the commercial, industrial and financial life of Egypt, will avoid dispute or friction whenever possible, but will take good care to ensure that, whatever happens, their bread will be satisfactorily buttered.

It is, therefore, not out of place to inquire whether the terms of the existing Egyptian problem cannot now be simply and frankly stated. That the Nationalists can put forward some strong arguments cannot be denied. They have just grievances. How far, it will at once be asked, has the British Government acted conscientiously in the pursuance of its avowed policy of fitting the Egyptian to take an increasing part in the government of his country? This was the policy established by Lord Cromer and profoundly believed in by many of the able men who worked with him in the earlier days of the British occupation. That is, in general terms, the policy of the British Empire wherever native races are concerned. Sharing this belief Lord Kitchener made a characteristically bold attempt to extend and reorganize the representative institutions of Egypt. The war and the declaration of the Protectorate prevented his project from being carried out.

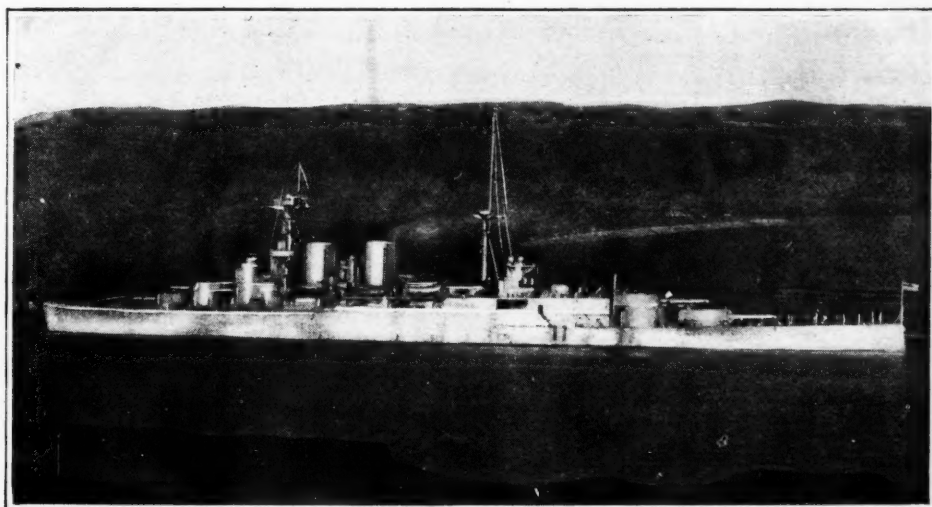
The declared object of Lord Milner's mission is to reestablish this policy. But the Nationalist party will not accept anything short of complete independence. Major Bashford seeks to show how impossible this is:

A glance at the curious condition of Egyptian

society to-day will at once make it clear how little competent the Egyptian is to maintain order in his own house. In the first place he has little commercial or industrial ability. He is temperamentally devoid of initiative, and is incapable of prompt decision. Certain pleasant qualities he undoubtedly possesses, such as patience, stolid industry and the capacity to endure. These are servant, not master qualities. He is not without a certain small ingenuity in money matters. He is saving and there is plenty of Egyptian capital in land and house property, but he has not the courage to use capital in a big way or the intelligence to grasp the wider principles of national industry and credit on which alone the prosperity of a people depends.

Egypt presents the remarkable spectacle of a country practically the whole structure of whose commercial and industrial life is in the hands of men of alien nationality: Greek, Italian, Syrian, French! How is it conceivable, under any sane theory of autonomy, that a race should govern itself when the control of its wealth, its credit and the organization of its daily industrial life is in other hands? Egypt to-day is exceedingly prosperous. She felt the strain of the war less than any other country within British authority and by reason of the war immense quantities of money were poured into Egypt between 1914 and 1918. Sir Valentine Chirol gives the Egyptian gain from war expenditures as at least 200,000,000l., and quotes the instance of a general store in Cairo which made in 1919 a profit of 350,000l. on a capital of 600,000l. Needless to say, this store is not run by Egyptians but by Syrians. Whilst, indeed, the country generally has benefited by this great and sudden war prosperity, the Egyptian has no control over the distribution of this new wealth. He may earn better wages, sell his live stock or his grain at higher prices, or even make a small profit on a modest deal in property. But he is always the wage-earner rather than the capitalist. He neither calls the tune nor pays the piper, but occupies a very modest seat in the gallery.

With regard to the restlessness at present in Egypt and throughout the Mohammedan world, "caused by the announcement of President Wilson's theories as regards the rights of small peoples and the public acceptance of those theories by the British Government," "the observer . . . cannot but feel that the propagation of Mr. Wilson's admirable theories has done a great deal of harm. A state, especially an Oriental state, cannot be run by ideals." It is fair to remark, says the *London Review of Reviews*, that when it was a question of winning the war, the propagation of these same theories did a great deal of good—so far as the Allies were concerned. But that, as the more subtle Western mind argues, is another story.



THE NEW BRITISH DREADNOUGHT. "HOOD"—A BATTLESHIP WITH THE SPEED OF A CRUISER

(Britain's latest battleship, the *Hood*, is declared to be the mightiest fighting machine afloat, with a displacement of 41,200 tons, armed with eight 15-inch guns and with a secondary armament of twelve 5.5-inch guns, and having oil-fired boilers and turbines, giving her a speed of 31 knots. The *Hood* is provided with "blisters," below the waterline from about her fore turret to right aft, to counteract the effect of a torpedo explosion. The total cost of the ship is estimated at £6,000,000. She is 860 feet long with a beam of 140 feet and a draught of 28½ feet)

IS THE BATTLESHIP DOOMED?

MR. ARCHIBALD HURD, the well-known naval writer, discusses in the *Fortnightly Review* (February) the important question whether the battleships and other large men-of-war have been rendered obsolete by the development of the submarine and of naval aircraft, as many highly qualified observers believe. Five different methods of attack involve the possible destruction of the immense and costly ships that are now regarded as the measure of sea power: the plugging fire of modern guns at extreme ranges of 16,000 yards or more, attack by bombing from aircraft, submarine mines, and torpedoes, whether fired from destroyers or from aeroplanes.

If this formidable indictment against the familiar types of service men-of-war (says Mr. Hurd) were supported by irrefutable evidence, all the existing fleets of the world might as well be sunk as a measure of wisdom and economy, for the maintenance of these ships represents heavy annual charges on national funds. The scuttling of the condemned ships under the White Ensign would mean the destruction of war material which has cost this country from £200,000,000 to £300,000,000. When the melancholy ceremony had been carried out, presumably in the Atlantic, the taxpayers would have to resign themselves to the building of another fleet (representing new, unproved, and fantastic ideas), which would cost at least as much money, unless British maritime interests were to go unprotected

and the British Isles and the other parts of the British Empire were to be left without defense against invasion. For in the absence of defense by sea, whether by submersible craft or surface vessels, security against invasion of the British Empire, widely distributed over the oceans of the world, cannot be provided.

For an army is not, and never can be, effective against the invader who comes by sea. An army, with all its encumbering paraphernalia, can move no more swiftly now than in Elizabethan days; but speed at sea has been multiplied four, five, or six times, and the movement of ships is no longer at the mercy of changing winds.

It might be assumed, says Mr. Hurd, from much which has been written since the signing of the Armistice, that the war had been won by submarines and aircraft. But in that event victory would have gone, not to the Allies, but to the Central Powers.

What did happen? The latter abandoned the use of the sea completely so far as merchant ships were concerned, and almost completely in the matter of men-of-war traveling on the surface. On the other hand, the Allies could not have continued to exist unless they had been able to draw reinforcing strength from the seas. The Allies, in other words, had to use their mercantile marine resources to the utmost, exposing to attack by enemy submarine and aircraft from 15,000 to 16,000 merchant ships. It would be difficult to form even a rough estimate of the

number of times these vessels entered and left the danger zone in the course of their voyages over a period of upwards of four years; but it is apparent that the enemy had ample opportunities of proving the value of both submarine and aircraft.

In order to protect this enormous volume of traffic, the Allied navies—and particularly the British navy—had to maintain an efficient watch, and ward, cruising both in the war zone and beyond the limits of the war zone, for it should be recalled that German submarines operated off the Atlantic coast of the American continent. . . .

If it be suggested that they failed to make efficient use of their air power in fighting the Allies' sea power, it may be replied that in the opening months of the war they tested aeroplanes and airships. *Not a single British warship was destroyed either by airship or aeroplane* in the course of the long war, although it might have been supposed that the North Sea provided an ideal area for their use. Aircraft similarly failed in attacking merchant vessels, though in the early months of the struggle the former were without an apology of defense.

The submarine, on the other hand, proved for a time, but only for a time, an effective weapon against merchant ships, once the Germans had abandoned all regard for international law and the dictates of humanity. But it was only against merchant vessels that the submarine was effective, even for a time. Throughout the course of the war, extending over a period of more than four and a half years, no battleship, battle-cruiser, or cruiser of the Grand Fleet, each presenting a large target, was destroyed by the enemy as a result of submarine attack. The significance of that failure can only be adequately appreciated if the activities of these vessels in the North Sea, and even in the Bight of Heligoland (in close proximity to Germany's naval bases) be borne in mind. British seamanship and high speed of the ships defeated the enemy.

In his revelations about the anti-submarine campaign, Admiral Sims has insisted again and again that the Grand Fleet was frequently cruising in the open sea in the waters which were known to be most infested with submarines.

There was no mystery about the immunity which these great fighting vessels enjoyed, for the submarine problem so far as it affected the battle fleet had already been solved. The explanation was that whenever the dreadnoughts put to sea they were preceded by a screen of cruisers and destroyers. These surface craft apparently served as a kind of impenetrable wall, against which the German U-boats were beating themselves unavailingly.

To the casual observer, however, there seemed to be no reason why the destroyers should have any particular terror for submarines. Externally they are the least impressive war vessels afloat. Sailing ahead of the battle squadrons, the destroyers were little, graceful objects upon the surface of the water; they suggested fragility rather than strength, and the idea that they were the guardians of the mighty battleships behind them at first seemed almost grotesque. Yet these little

vessels really possessed the power of overcoming the submarine. The war had not progressed far when it became apparent that the U-boat could not linger anywhere near this speedy little surface vessel without running serious risk of destruction.

Events soon demonstrated that, in all open engagements between submarine and destroyer, the submarine stood very little chance. The reason for this was simply that the submarine had no weapon with which it could successfully resist the attack of the destroyer, whereas the destroyer had several with which it could attack the submarine.

The advantage which really makes the destroyer so dangerous . . . is its excessive speed. On the surface the U-boat makes little more than fifteen miles an hour, and under the surface it makes little more than seven or eight. If the destroyer once discovered its presence, therefore, it could reach its prey in an incredibly short time. It could attack with gun, and, if conditions were favorable, it could ram—and a destroyer going at thirty or forty miles could cut a submarine nearly in two with its strong, razor-like bow.

Lord Jellicoe, in his important speeches in Canada and New Zealand, has insisted strongly upon the need for maintaining an invincible fleet of warships of the greatest size and speed. Neither Great Britain, Germany, nor any other country has ever had under construction so large a number of armored ships as the United States has at present. Japan also is busily engaged in building monster ships, and has plans ready for dreadnoughts larger than any yet afloat.

There is no finality in naval design, because physical science never stands still, but is always advancing from one triumph to another; but at a moment when H. M. S. *Hood* is passing into active commission this country may take some pride in having provided a vessel which embodies the post-war ideal. The *Hood* has the armament of a battleship and the speed of a battle-cruiser, is practically unsinkable, and carries four anti-aircraft guns, besides being defended against bombs and aerial torpedoes.

The *Hood* is said to carry a greater weight of armor than any of her predecessors among the dreadnoughts. One lesson of the Battle of Jutland has been heeded in her unusual deck protection against the effects of plunging projectiles fired at a range of 16,000 yards.

What the future may have in store, who can say? But the probability is, assuming that the New World has navies, that this new composite vessel of remarkable power, on which upwards of £6,000,000 has been expended, indicates the line upon which naval constructors, reflecting the considered opinion of the young and war-tried sea officers of to-day, will continue to work.



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MASS-MEETING OF TURKS AT CONSTANTINOPLE PROTESTING AGAINST THE PEACE TREATY

A POSSIBLE SOLUTION OF THE EASTERN QUESTION

THE Eastern Question is more than ever insistent at the present time. A contributor to *Le Correspondant* (Paris) offers a solution which he deems would be eminently fitting and effective. He says, in substance:

The history of the Ottoman Empire offers a striking contrast of military strength and political impotence. From the capture of Constantinople, in 1453, to the Treaty of Carlovitz (1699) the martial power of the Turks increased steadily, but they never succeeded in assimilating the conquered nations. Since the latter date their decline has been constant, despite momentary successes. (The writer enumerated a series of treaties which involved great losses to Turkey, concluding with the Treaty of Berlin, which was signed in 1878.)

Every time that the powers sought to impose a program of reform upon Turkey they met with lamentable failure. The Treaty of Berlin, for example, in which the Porte promised immediate reforms in the regions peopled by Armenians and guaranteed their security, was followed on the morrow by atrocious massacres which aroused the indig-

nation of the civilized world, Gladstone constituting himself its spokesman.

This fundamental political incapacity is at the bottom of the Eastern Question; it is a glaring proof, established by centuries of experience, of the impossibility of founding anything firm or stable upon the political power of the Porte.

Another element, however, equally important, is involved—one which alone can explain the policy followed by the powers: the military and political importance of the situation occupied by Turkey does not permit an assignment of suzerainty over it to one of the great powers. The Porte is a bridge spanned between three continents; one of the great highways of the world, it must be left open to all. That is doubtless why, from the time of Peter the Great up to 1914, the powers steadily refused to recognize Russia's pretensions to the Straits. Every time that they faced a new crisis of the "sick man," they hastened to proclaim the integrity of the Ottoman Empire, favoring at the same time a certain partition, the parts to serve as buffers.

To-day, for the first time—Russian ambition being eliminated—it is possible to con-

sider the Eastern problem in its totality. Never has a definitive solution seemed more urgent than now, after a war which has demonstrated the necessity of keeping the Dardanelles open at all times in order to victual Europe with the grain of Southern Russia.

If a solution is demanded in the present juncture, if a unique occasion is offered to settle a question open for a century, it seems that the way must not be sought by a complete dismemberment of the Ottoman Empire. Certain regions in Asia Minor will, to be sure, come under the influence of certain powers, but one can easily recognize that, in the nature of the case, the greater part of the Turkish possessions forms a homogeneous whole which it would be dangerous to impair.

Moreover, a political dismemberment would mean an immediate lessening of authority and strength, and lay the powers, particularly England and France, open to the danger of Bolshevik infiltration into the regions peopled by Moslems. Mr. Churchill in a recent address spoke of the aggressive forces formed in Asia Minor, stretching out one hand to the Bolshevik armies on the North and the other to the Arabs on the South. An alliance between Russian Bolshevism and Turkish Mohammedanism—he added—would be a great menace to many countries, but chiefly to the British Empire, containing the largest of the Moslem estates.

It is absolutely essential, therefore, to

erect in Constantinople and Asia Minor a solid barrier entrusted to a single guardian—and he not the Great Turk.

Finally, the partition of Turkey among the powers would be sure to arouse a dangerous agitation throughout Islam. The case would be quite different if, while territorial integrity would be maintained, the Sultan would, in reality, be limited to a religious authority whose natural seat might be Mecca.

The problem, then, is to find a means whereby the greater part of the present Turkey would maintain a homogeneous character and at the same time be opened to the economic activity and control of the Allied states, without arousing political competition among them.

Would not this solution be found in the creation of a financial company, formed with the military and financial coöperation of the Allies, and placed under the suzerainty of a small nation like Belgium, which has given such a shining proof of its loyalty? The representative of Belgium at Constantinople would act as a mandatory of the Allied powers, all of whom would seek, under the aegis of the respected sovereign of a small nation, the amelioration of what is to-day one of the most forlorn regions of the earth—a region which, with its grand memories of the past as well as the bright future to which, with its situation and the fertility of its soil, it may look forward, is one of the blessed spots of the universe.

JEALOUSIES OVER SYRIA

OPTIMISTIC readers who still cling to the faith, or hope, that the cordial understanding already assumed between France and England only waits for our powerful aid to enforce peace, the world over, will be decidedly disturbed by the tone of A. Baudouin, as he sits under the purple hibiscus of his Oriental garden and watches the Arab Musselmans' banners as they pass in procession, inscribed in French and English: "No life without independence." Thereupon he jots down his own grave forebodings on "A Political Battlefield," namely Syria, for the *Revue Mondiale*. The keynote is "Albion perfide!" with a strong dash of Gallic martial ardor and Crusader's ambition for Oriental conquest.

"Perhaps French political leaders have

never understood the Arabs, especially the feudal military caste, ambitious, fearless, strife-loving, barbarians all, however veneered with Western manners and speech." To them, patriotism will always mean conquest and tyranny. French statesmen have never said plainly to the King of Hedjaz that they will insist on the absolute autonomy of Syria, that all his sovereignty must lie eastward from Damascus. A French commissioner has even expressed, in Damascus itself, his desire to see this Arabic kingdom strengthened. To the Arabs this is but a confession of weakness by a state that has elsewhere, as in Morocco, been less considerate of the Musselman than England. The Syrians, so long protected, aided, educated by France, are also surprised, and profoundly

disturbed, by this perilous flattery of a prospective enemy.

Now, surely, the French military authority will be responsible for order, and peace in Syria, exactly as the British forces are in Palestine or Mesopotamia. And some day or other a French column will undoubtedly have to make its way to Damascus, to Aleppo. Great difficulties will be found in a country where those in charge, Arabs and Britons, have not acted in good faith.

We will organize liberty where we can: military occupation, or direct control, on British models, where it proves necessary. There is barely time to save our prestige, by adequate military display. Almost daily, events are weakening that prestige. Acts of violence like the expulsion of Emir Said, the imprisonment of the Bedouin chief Moughen, cause all Syrians to say: "The French must always efface themselves before their English allies. Educated they are, no doubt, but not strong. There are but three dominant nations, Germany, England, America." At present, in Syria, the English are everything, the French practically nothing.

Only last year the English organized and equipped a brigade of 4000 Arabs, with cannon and mitrailleuses, besides a policing force of 6000 more. So, our allies, just before retiring from our domains, have created serious obstacles for us, whenever we have to occupy inner Syria.

And while our government is discharging men by thousands, the English have in Syria and Cilicia fifteen brigades, far more numerous and better supplied than ours. Are we to be actually dependent on them? Our activity in Syria must be, primarily and above all, military. We need there abler commanders, quite as much as a more competent civil service. We have always been out-argued and outwitted by the English in every so-called "compromise," and they have never carried out loyally even the terms they themselves had exacted.

We do not despair of seeing arrive from France competent well-informed men, who will restore order, and protect the many interests imperiled: who will tell the English, and the Cherifs, curtly and plainly, what France wants and what she does not. . . . We shall gain nothing at present by being too conciliatory. . . . I insist, it is not merely over the safety of the Christians in Syria and Cilicia that France is to stand on guard, but over the peace of the entire Orient.

. . . France has done more for Syria, morally, intellectually and commercially, than any other power whatsoever. She has a prior claim through action here, that dates back to Charlemagne. She has been the first Oriental power, the genial creator of a spiritual understanding between Orient and Occident. Syria will be a bulwark of French influence. France will continue there her age-long work.

As a decisive omen, the writer now sees, just passing by, Syrian children, waving little tricolor flags, and singing lustily. They are chanting an Arabic refrain that runs:

"By the will of Allah, our flag shall be the French."

Each one of our three great European allies in the World War avows, more or less frankly a consciousness of her own supreme mission to dominate—not to say exploit, the Levant. Of the Levantines themselves the present writer shows a contempt almost English. But as to the new Arab kingdom he is unable to conceal his fear, that it may prove a fatal stumbling-block to French conquest and mercantile exploitation, and his suspicion that it has been strengthened by Great Britain for that very purpose among others.

THE SIBERIAN TRAGEDY

IN the *Mercure de France* (Paris) of February 1, Arthur Toupine, actually writing on January 1, with remarkable self-suppression but with convincing warmth and sympathy, reveals the causes of Kolchak's downfall, chiefly by copious excerpts from, and an abstract of, General Pepelaieff's report to General Gaida, and the latter's frank and fearless statement to the dictator himself. Both generals, when this paper was written, had just been active in the Vladivostok revolt, Gaida, indeed, its leader. "This revolt has been suppressed to be sure, and harshly, by foreign troops. But its chief has not been executed. For Kolchak, to

order Gaida's death would have been to cradain his own, no less. The revolt was not intended to spread through Siberia nor to depose Kolchak; but was simply an attempt, in last resort, to make his rule more democratic."

Kolchak, too late, seems to have seen a half-light. He has now, even, made Pepelaieff's brother his President of Council, giving him the task "to democratize Siberia." It is these two gallant generals who have thus far held Siberia against the flood-tide of Bolshevism, and their reports are as illuminating as they are fearless—and tragic. They are eminently worthy of study in fullest de-

tail. But the cause of free democracy, in Siberia, seems hopelessly lost.

General Pepelaieff led, in the campaign of 1919, the Army of the North, which, taking the field on May 20, routed the Third Red Army, made rapid advances, and nearly reached their objective as ordered by taking the city of Wiatka. But, attacked on both flanks, supplied with no reinforcements and with no communications kept open for him with any base behind him, he had to obey an order to retire behind the Kama. Thence he reports to Gaida on June 1, 1919.

The fault is with the rear, which is tranquil, because far from danger. There are plenty of officers, but none are sent forward. The few who come run risk of punishment as deserters from headquarters. Many came over—700 in a body, at Perm—from forced service with the Bolsheviks, but these, of his trustiest and most gallant leaders, Pepelaieff was ordered to arraign before courts-martial; "so others have failed to follow!" No effort has been made to supply this crying lack of officers by urging the educated young men of the cities into training camps. Officers were even called back from the front when most needed.

No men were sent forward to supply losses, and the regiments often became mere skeleton formations through constant decimation. No legalized plan was provided to enlist inhabitants of the regions occupied, so any serious effort to do so incurred the stigma of "brigandage." The troops were barefoot, or on sandals of bark, short of clothing, while at the rear tens of thousands were parading in freshly imported English accoutrements. The cavalry had no saddles, though the Siberian town and district of Kungur had furnished two-thirds of the leather for the war with Germany. Hope and enthusiasm, loyalty itself, are dying. Whole units murder their officers and go over to the Bolsheviks. The peasantry, who at first welcomed the Whites with processions of thanksgiving, supplies, generous enlistments, have passed through sullenness to actual hostility, shown by constant mob violence, seizure of stations, even attacks in large force. The general feeling of Western Siberia is turning away toward the enemy.

The reasons are frankly indicated. The government has failed to issue a definite call for a Constitutional Assembly which should create a truly democratic government. The vague promises of ownership in land for all who till it have not been carried out in ef-

fective measures. Laborers are not assured of a living wage. No war taxes are laid on the city populations and higher classes.

An active supreme command at the front itself is called for; also aid for soldiers' families; increase of pay; prompt action as to decorations, etc., the clear right to raise fit privates to commissioned officers—in general, evidence from headquarters of intelligent interest and effective effort.

General Gaida naturally discusses more freely the general causes of the failure and deadly peril.

The defeat and retreat are not due to any reinforcement of the enemy. There has been no organization to supply the front with munitions or food. The one has been obtained almost wholly from the enemy by the earlier victories, the other by forced levies on an unwilling and resisting peasantry. The revolts are all in villages and open country, not in cities. The real rioters vanish quickly among a sympathetic peasantry while the innocent are punished, even school children being killed by Japanese rifle fire.

General Gaida puts his hand boldly on the cardinal errors of the central government. No progress toward democratic rule has been begun. No interest is shown in the overwhelming majority of population and resources outside the cities. The leaders of the communes have been executed in great numbers without trial. There is a spreading disbelief in any intention to call any real Constitutional Assembly. Members-elect are actually among those summarily put to death. Masses of people are slain as Bolsheviks, who have stood aloof or even actively opposed the Reds. All rights of the individual, the home, the press, of meeting, are overridden by force. The communes, the coöperative societies, etc., seem rather suspected and persecuted than encouraged by the provisional government.

The general feeling of suspicion, injustice, hostility, is in danger of driving the Siberian people generally into the arms of the Bolsheviks.

When such bold demands were disregarded, the democratic leaders evidently attempted to secure physical control in Vladivostok, and to guide the policy of the dictator, while maintaining the external continuity of the Provisional Government.

The latest news to reach us from Siberia indicates the approaching finale of this Siberian tragedy. The victorious advance of the Red armies is continuous; Kolchak's power seems about to crumble.

TO-DAY'S POLITICS IN ITALY

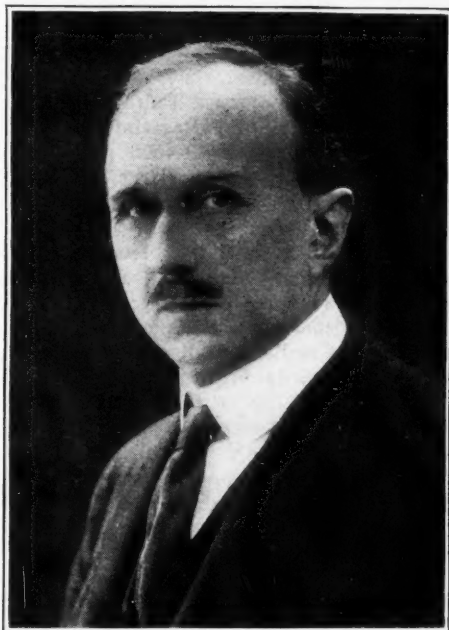
THE results of the recent Italian elections for members of the Chamber of Deputies revealed the main currents as well as the under-currents of public opinion in Italy at the present time. An essentially non-partisan view of the matter is given by Signor Filiberto Sardegna in *Rassegna Nazionale*. His presentiment of the significance of Italy's share in the war is worthy of attention. He says:

When the statement is advanced that Italy was the one power among all the Allies which sacrificed most in the war, and made the greatest effort, this must be understood in a relative, not in an absolute sense. Unfortunately, too many proclaim it without reservation. Is this a result of over-excited national pride, or does it spring from an inability to understand things aright? If for the success of a business enterprise a man who has an income of 20,000 lire invests 15,000, he no doubt makes a greater sacrifice and a greater effort than does one who puts in 50,000 lire out of an income of 100,000; but none the less the larger contribution will have had the greater influence in determining success.

When the elections were held, Italy was still under the nervous strain that had been imposed by three years of bitter war, and was agitated by the joyous sentiments aroused by the sudden and almost unhopd-for victory. Hence she was unable to resist the new emotions that each day awakened in her breast.

In this period of agitation the old disputes between "neutralists" and "interventionists" were renewed, as was also the campaign against the "defeatists," and—something new—against the "depreciators of victory." At the same time, that prosperity which it was believed must follow in the wake of victory, proved to be a fond dream; the cost of living increased enormously; industry and commerce were slow in regaining their vigor; and in the meanwhile Italy could not tell whether she was in a state of war or a state of peace, whether the war had really ended, or if ended, whether it was not about to break out again.

It was easy for the Socialists to profit by the prevailing sentiment, all the more so that they had always been sincerely opposed to the war. The files of the party were reinforced by all who felt the need of making the election the vehicle of a protest. Moreover, there were many who, though sceptical as to the value and importance of Bolshevism and of the similar violent socialistic tenden-



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VITERIO SCIALOJA, THE MINISTER OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS IN THE NITTI MINISTRY

cies, and disillusioned as to the worth of the men and the parties who had directed the fortunes of Italy, thought it would not be inopportune to try something new, reserving the right to change their minds again should occasion arise.

The followers of the People's Party, organized themselves seriously and without vain boasting, fully conscious of the importance and difficulty of the task they had undertaken, to oppose a bulwark against Bolshevism and Socialism, to prepare the way for a healthy and peaceful renovation of society, and to form a centre of refuge for all those who were not disposed to let themselves be swept away by an exaggerated nationalism, nor to allow themselves to be paralyzed by undue conservatism. They wished to make it understood that patriotism is a sentiment of such high significance and of such sterling value, that it should be regarded as a religion imposing the utmost conservation of thought and will.

With the People's Party were ranged all those who, doubtful of the importance or the danger of so-called clericalism, convinced that it, like so many other movements, had

died away, thought that the hour had struck for the formation of a new party, in distinct opposition to socialism, as well as all who thought the time had come to make an end of the little coteries, and of the backing and shifting of parliamentary groups, and that it was essential to renew a healthy and vigorous rivalry of well-organized and disciplined parties, not grouped about some personality, but animated by those definite ideas and plans without which there can be no profitable political struggle.

As to the Liberals, they revelled in "a splendid isolation," one could almost say a splendid indifference. What they wished for, what they thought, what they proposed to do—if they really wished for, thought of, or proposed to do anything—no one knew;

and no one could know any more about it when the elections were over. One thing alone was clear, that they were animated with such a profound terror of Bolshevism or of revolution, that they had even lost the will or the power to take measures of defense.

In conclusion, the writer declares that the present hour of Italy's history demands supreme devotion to duty and the sacrifice of all forms of egoism. The question should be not what the individual finds it most agreeable to do, but what ought to be done, and instead of expecting to prosper in spite of the government, as so many lightly say, prosperity should be expected to come from the government, which owes its right of being to its ability to produce this result.

THE LEFT BANK OF THE RHINE

THE attempts now in progress to re-adjust political frontiers in Europe more or less on a basis of racial distribution have raised a multitude of difficult questions. There is, in fact, an endless amount of confusion concerning the true racial affinities of the various European populations. The case of Alsace-Lorraine is typical. The history of these provinces lends support both to the German contention that they are racially German and to the French contention that they are racially French, according to the definition of terms and to the emphasis laid on particular features of their checkered experience. The same thing is true, in some measure, of the whole borderland lying along the left bank of the Rhine.

M. Georges Blondel, who discusses the "Rhine question" in *La Géographie* (Paris), brings out rather strikingly the fact that the word "German," as used in discussing this question from an historical standpoint, is capable of diverse interpretations. For example:

The Franks had at their head in the eighth century a man of high intelligence and great vigor. Charlemagne, whom the Germans would like to monopolize, first appears not as a Germanic chief, but as the King of the Franks, which, in the language of that time, meant the King of the Gauls. He hardly cared to take the title of King of Germania. He wished to be Emperor of the Romans, and he went to Rome to be crowned. The restoration of the imperial dignity in his behalf must be regarded as a triumph of the Franco-Gallic people, and as a vic-

tory of Latin and Christian civilization. The fact that Charlemagne remained faithful in his private life to certain Germanic customs does not suffice to give the Germans the right to claim him. He was, above all, a devoted son of the Church; it was as much that he determined to carry Roman and Christian civilization beyond the Rhine into the forests of Germania; and it was against the Germans, especially the Saxons, that he waged war during the greater part of his life.

The partition of Charlemagne's empire among his grandsons was a source of trouble which has continued to the present day. We may deplore the fact, says M. Blondel, that Louis le Débonnaire had three sons. If he had had only two, the Rhine would certainly have remained the boundary between Germania and Gaul. As it was, an artificial kingdom was created for Lothair, between the portions assigned to his two brothers, and the northern part of this new kingdom, Lotharingia (Lorraine), became the apple of discord between France and Germany, which it was destined so long to remain.

At a still earlier period, as the writer recalls, the Rhine was notoriously the line of demarcation between Germanic and Celtic peoples and cultures. The name "Rhine" itself is Celtic, as are most of the names of rivers and divinities pertaining to the region on the west bank of that stream. It was to protect Gallo-Roman civilization from the assaults of the barbarous German tribes that the important towns along the Rhine—all on the left bank—were constructed; viz., Strassburg, Spire, Worms,

Mainz, Bingen, Coblenz, Andernach, Bonn, Cologne. Coblenz became the port of a flotilla of vessels which patrolled the river. It was the Gauls who planted the famous vineyards of the Rhine and the Moselle.

It is true that eventually the Germans secured a footing on the west bank of the Rhine, but the important Germanic tribe which gained the ascendancy in that region, the Franks, soon identified itself with the Gallo-Romans, and waged vigorous warfare against the "Germans."

The author points out that the French have never ceased to turn their eyes toward the Rhine as the "natural" boundary between France and Germany. Much more to the point, however, is the question of the state of public sentiment, past and present, in the Rhine region itself. M. Blondel declares that the extension of French dominion to the left bank in 1795 was acclaimed with joy by the population thus freed from the Prussian yoke. After Germany resumed control of this region, in 1815, she put forth every effort to denationalize the inhabitants. Yet, says M. Blondel, so strong was the affection of the latter for France in the middle of the nineteenth century that a high Prussian official wrote at the close of the reign of Frederick William III: "There is nobody here who would not thank God if the country returned under French domination."

The author also makes the interesting assertion that Bismarck, in 1866, contemplated the exclusion of the left bank of the Rhine from the prospective Empire of Germany, and expected France to seize this region, as she might easily have done, during the conflict between Prussia and Austria at that time.

Lastly, the author declares that immediately after the armistice of 1918 the expectation was widely entertained in Germany that France would claim the Rhine provinces as the fruits of her victory. It is well known that there was a strong current of sentiment in Rhenish Prussia in behalf of separation from Berlin. M. Blondel believes that a golden opportunity was then lost, and that in the period which has since elapsed the German republic has, by various concessions and promises, done much to reestablish the spirit of German solidarity in the debatable territory. The future depends largely upon the political developments of the central government. If the radicals should triumph at Berlin, the Rhine districts would probably seek their independence. The writer has no desire, however, to witness the advent of Bolshevism in Germany, because such an event would be fraught with grave danger for all western Europe. But he looks hopefully toward an economic and intellectual *rapprochement* between France and the population on the left bank of the Rhine.

ADOBE HELPS SOLVE THE BUILDING PROBLEM

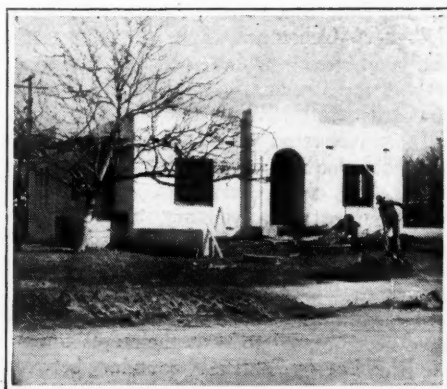
IN the REVIEW OF REVIEWS for last January (pp. 104-5) were published extracts from a consular report describing some of the methods whereby English architects are solving the housing problem in spite of the conspicuous shortage in the supply of bricks. The revival of cob-building was mentioned, and an account was given of the use being made, in certain districts, of rammed earth, or pisé. The latter form of earth construction is of further contemporary interest on account of its use in rebuilding operations in the French war zone; while a method of building somewhat more closely related to cob is now reported to be the subject of interesting experiments and developments in Southern California.

The story of adobe is a pretty old one to

anybody who has lived or traveled in the parts of America where the Spaniards once held sway. Yet, as Mr. J. L. Von Blon points out in the *Scientific American*, this old subject has its novel aspects. The existing scarcity of other building materials suggests that builders in regions where adobe construction has hitherto been unknown may well turn their attention to the merits of what the author calls "mansions of mud." Moreover, great improvements are possible in the immemorial methods of adobe building, and some of these are already being realized. A concrete example of the possibilities in this line is being furnished in Walnut Park, a suburb of Los Angeles, where a group of two hundred adobe houses is in course of construction. Mr. Von Blon says:



WALLS OF AN ADOBE HOUSE UP AND READY FOR PLASTER



THE SAME HOUSE AFTER THE APPLICATION OF PLASTER

Adobe was used in the dim past, when first history was written on papyrus. Of it Nineveh was built. It has stood the test of ages and ever served its purpose well, and prevails today in Spain, Algiers, South America, Mexico and other lands. The early Californians employed it exclusively. It is merely wet soil mixed with straw, cast in molds of required size, and left in the sun to dry. Generally speaking, any earth with a clay base that makes it "gooey" and cohesive when watered will be desirable. Sand or gravel will not do. The process of manufacture is almost as simple as that whereby children turn out pies at the nearest puddle.

The mixing is best done by Mexicans with the bare feet in a sort of kneading up-and-down manner; hence the word "adobe," the substantive of "adobar"—to knead. One Mexican and his helper make 400 bricks a day—and they never have been known to speed up. The blocks are 16x10x4 inches and each goes as far as eight common bricks. Three at a time are molded in the simplest way. Their extensive manufacture by machinery is a prospect of the near future, inasmuch as the contractor is about to take up a patented device with a daily capacity of 7000. The straw in the mud serves a purpose similar, though in greater degree, to that of steel reinforcement in concrete.

When the architect first looked into the early adobe construction with a view to its modernization he found the old Southern California houses to be damp and insanitary because proper foundations and means of ventilation were lacking. These drawbacks he readily overcame. Seldom was there more constructive preparation than the crudest ground plan. The foundation was simply a layer of strewn stones with only mud as a mortar binder. Now concrete is used. The walls were eighteen inches to three feet thick, windows and doors were sparingly provided because glazing and mill work were extremely expensive, and there were no wooden floors. Tamped earth filled the bill. On this tule mats and Indian rugs were spread. The beams and rafters were made from hewn native trees. Across them saplings or wild canes were tied with rawhide thongs and on this thatch was laid the tile roof. These houses, with the picturesque California missions,

have endured in some instances nearly a century and a half and stand today. The contractor points to them as proof positive that the material is good. And he has improved immeasurably on the former primitive methods of handling it.

He has established by temperature tests that adobe actually is the most non-conductive building material known. A brick has registered no more than six degrees' difference between extreme February cold and extreme September heat (in Southern California). This shows the reputation of adobe for warmth in winter and coolness in summer to be founded on fact. He also has shown the material to be much stronger than ordinarily is supposed by developing a compressive strength of 400 pounds to the square inch. This enables him to dispense with the extremely thick walls of other days.

Whereas the old Dons were satisfied to plaster their walls with mud and protect this with a coating of whitewash in which had been incorporated tallow and cactus juice where the lime slaked, the 1920 builder covers them with hard cement plaster to thoroughly anchor into the walls—generally three coats—and waterproof throughout with an all-mineral compound evolved by himself and conceded by chemists to be virtually everlasting. Doubtless there are other waterproofing processes which might answer. The whitewash of the pioneers was a fair waterproofing but temporary. It had to be applied every year or two. When moisture penetrated to the mud plastering it came off. The adobe blocks, exposed to the elements, particularly rain, soon disintegrated as a rule, although some in the missions have defied the weather for decades.

The builder makes these claims for the houses now under construction: That they are everlasting, meaning that the occupants never will know the annoyance nor expense of the usual repair bills. That they are soundproof, so that howling winds, rattling roofs or other noises will not be heard within. That they are non-conductive and fireproof, cool in summer and warm in winter, and the owners can watch anything in conflagration nearby without an iota of fear for the loss of their dwellings. That they cost no more than wood—possibly even less—yet look and are as substantial as those of concrete or burned brick.

THE JAPANESE POTTERY INDUSTRY

THE war has brought many changes to the "changeless East," and especially to the land which, even before the great upheaval in world events, was a curious compound of Oriental conservatism and Occidental up-to-dateness, viz., Japan. The expansion of Japanese industries is strikingly evidenced upon the shelves of American stores and shops. How has this expansion affected the economic life of the Japanese and their industrial methods?

With respect to the world-renowned pottery industry of Japan, a partial answer to the foregoing question is found in a recent report by the commercial attaché of the American Embassy in Tokyo, Mr. James P. Abbott, published in *Commerce Reports* (Washington, D. C.).

Here we learn that the annual product of Japanese potters, valued at \$8,766,124 in 1915, increased to a value of \$22,107,042 in 1918. As to exports, it is stated that

whereas in the first half of the decade from 1909 to 1918 the export of pottery from Japan kept about the same figure, yet from the beginning of the war the annual export steadily increased until the amount for 1918 had grown to four times the figure for 1914. Before the war the United States took nearly half of Japan's production, but in 1918 this proportion had shrunk to less than one-fourth. At that, America is still one of Japan's best customers. Almost two-thirds of the total imports of decorated china, Parian, porcelain, and bisque into the United States comes from Japan. The United Kingdom, however, supplies the preponderance of decorated earthenware and crockery imports.

Japanese pottery costs more to produce than it did before the war. One item of expense that has increased most strikingly is fuel. Both the coal used in kilns of the modern type and the wood used in those of the old Japanese type now cost four times what they did in 1914.

In Rein's "Industries of Japan" and other accessible works there are ample details concerning the methods of Japanese potters and the organization of the industry. Much of this information now stands in need of revision. It seems worth while to quote here several extracts from Mr. Abbott's report in which important changes and developments of the last few years are set forth:

The bulk of the decorating pigments and the finest colors come largely from England, formerly from Germany. The decalcomania sheets, which were formerly imported almost exclusively

from Germany, are now coming principally from America. Some are being made in Japan, but it is likely that before long the domestic production will be displaced by the imported article. The costs are about three times the pre-war German price.

The great bulk of chinaware produced in Japan is made by the old methods of manufacture and to a very considerable degree is a household or community industry. For example, in the Seto district one family will be found making the models and molds. On the village streets one can see these molds being carried by hand on boards to another household where they will be used for the forming of the ware. Cups and saucers are produced in large quantities in this district, one man being able to produce by casting 2,000 cups per day; but the quality is very poor. The aggregate production of the numerous pottery villages in Japan amounts to a considerable figure, and much of it finds its way into the channels of foreign trade. Nevertheless, with the cost of living increasing in Japan by leaps and bounds and with labor costs rising in proportion, the day is not far distant when the highly organized and efficiently conducted modern pottery, with its labor-saving machinery and its ability to reduce costs by quantity production, will supersede the cottage and community system.

The Japanese have not been slow in appreciating this tendency. In Nagoya, the center of the industry in Japan, a modern pottery has been built on the most up-to-date lines. Upon entering a modern plant one is at first struck with the fact that labor is still by no means considered the first and greatest factor in costs. Every ton of material is brought to the factory by man power. There is no railroad siding. All the materials, bulky as they are in the pottery industry, such as clay, feldspar, flint, wood, and coal, are carted in small one-horse wagons, each horse being led by a man. Such materials as come in bulk are piled on the wagon in shallow traylike baskets, each containing an amount convenient for a man to carry. The second thing particularly noticeable is the large amount of hand labor employed in the breaking up and sorting of the raw materials, and also the exceedingly minute care taken in removing any foreign matter from the broken mass.

Labor is still very cheap in Japan, judged by our standards. During 1917 and 1918 the wages paid in the potteries ranged from thirty cents a day, the minimum paid to young girls, up to a dollar a day, the maximum paid to men. These wages were, however, supplemented with a "rice stipend," granted to offset the present high cost of living.

One of the newer developments in the pottery industry is the manufacture of electrical accessories in connection with the rapidly expanding electrical industry in Japan. The large high-tension insulators demanded by hydroelectric development are made both in large factories, such

as the great Morimura plant at Nagoya, and also by small individual workshops (on subcontracts) in villages.

The large pole insulators are thrown on an ordinary wheel which usually is motor driven. When shaped they are passed to a second man who turns them to size with a tool. Finally they are carefully finished by hand before drying. They are glazed in the clay and fired once. One man carrying through all the processes will throw, turn, and finish 400 insulators in a day, for which he gets about 1.70 yen (including a rice stipend).

Smaller white porcelain goods, insulators, cleats, rosettes, etc., are for the most part manufactured in Japan in the households alongside of dolls and teapots. They are molded in plaster of Paris molds, with a lavish expenditure of time and energy, from clay purchased ready for working, and are then fired in community kilns.

With practically no overhead, such small manufacturers are able to compete successfully with modern factories. In fact, one large establishment which put in an insulator factory has been undercut in price by the small independent potters to such an extent that it has almost ceased to do business.

Dolls are made in nearly all the pottery centers of Japan along with other porcelain wares of every description. Few, if any factories, of any size devote themselves to the exclusive production of such goods. The world demand for toys during the war, due to the lack of German goods, has stimulated the production of Japanese toys. A large number of "Kewpie" dolls, in particular, are now made in Japan. One establishment in Seto devotes itself almost wholly to the manufacture of kewpies, with a production of 1,000 a day.

A REAL INDUSTRIAL PARLIAMENT

UNDER the title of "The Team Spirit in Industry," Mr. Malcolm Sparkes contributes some account of the constitution and aims of the Industrial Council for the Building Industry (Building Trades Parliament) to the *English Review*.

The Building Trades Parliament ranks in official records as an ordinary Whitley Industrial Council; but it differs in many points from the forty or more Industrial Councils set up as a consequence of the Whitley Report. First, the scheme originated in the industry itself *before* the publication of the report, instead of being imported ready-made from a State Department. In the second place, it is purely a labor idea—"a great constructive proposal laid before the building trades employers by the twelve principal trade unions of the building industry, and adopted on its merits." Thirdly, it is based, first and foremost, on a principle of mutual good will.

The Building Trades Parliament consists of 132 members; sixty-six elected by the twenty-two trade unions of the building industry, approximately in proportion to their numerical strength, and sixty-six elected by the seventeen associations of building trades employers, roughly *pro rata* with the number of operatives normally employed by their members. The chairman is a member himself, and therefore has a vote, but not a casting vote. No representatives are appointed by the state—the whole plan being essentially industrial self-government.

It is the only Industrial Council that has omitted the word "joint" from its title; has set out to "realize the organic unity of the industry as a great national service," and has the courage to take decisions by the majority of the whole Council, instead of requiring a majority of the

Council on both sides, which is the ordinary Whitley Council practice. This is a most fundamental matter. The Whitley Councils, as at present constituted, have actually recognized, as permanent, the very barrier between the two existing "sides" in industry that the Industrial Parliament scheme was designed to break and which the Building Trades Council, with notable courage and imagination, has already broken, at any rate to some extent.

In regard to strikes:

Another feature in which the Building Trades Parliament is unique is its absolute exclusion of disputes. Its function is constructive and nothing but constructive—it is there to build the new industrial order and for nothing else. Disputes must be dealt with, as heretofore, by the Building Trades Conciliation and Demarcation Boards (which are somewhat similar to the newly-constituted American Board of Jurisdictional Awards) or by any other methods that may be thought to be advisable, not for a moment excluding strikes. Under no circumstances can the Building Trades Parliament arbitrate; but although it cannot touch disputes it can always bring forward constructive measures to remove their underlying cause.

Besides industrial control and the status of labor, its scope includes scientific management and reduction of costs; apprenticeship, technical training and research; safety and welfare methods; closer association between industry and art; and unemployment.

They propose that the overhanging fear of unemployment, which has had such a demoralizing effect, both on the character of the craftsman and the quality of his work, shall be completely and finally removed, in order that he may wholeheartedly give of his best. To secure this they recommend that the industry should establish unemployment pay for the whole of its trade-union

personnel, and that the necessary funds should be raised, as a first charge on production, by means of a weekly percentage on the wages bills, to be paid by each employer to a joint committee of employers and operatives. Although collected by a joint committee, the unemployment pay is to be distributed by the trade-unions, in accordance with regulations prescribed by the Building Trades Parliament, the scale varying from full wages for a man with a wife and four children, under sixteen, down to half wages for a single man.

"Owner-managers" are to be paid salaries

"commensurate with their ability and subject to periodical revision by a joint committee." Surplus earnings of the industry are to be publicly declared every year, and devoted to such purposes as a development fund, for education, research, and superannuation schemes. Last, but by no means least from the public standpoint, "the adjustment of prices in conference with the elected representatives of the community is also foreshadowed."

WESTERN AUSTRALIA—A LAND OF PROMISE

THE Agent-General for Western Australia, Mr. J. D. Connolly, contributes to the *Empire Review* (February) a review of the prospects of commercial, agricultural, and industrial development in Western Australia, which is the largest and by nature the richest of the Australian States. He quotes from a report by the Imperial Trade Correspondent at Perth, written early in 1919, which mentions among new industries that have grown up during the war,

Woolscouring and fellmongering, lime and cement, glass manufacturing, and tile and pottery making, while others were projected, such as alkali works, the briquetting of coal and the extraction of oils and varnishes from the grasstree (blackboy), of which vast quantities are available in the state. In connection with the glass-making and pottery enterprises it should be stated that recent tests have proved that supplies of the finest sands for the manufacture of the best quality of glassware are readily available, while exhaustive experiments have resulted in the discovery of clays highly suitable for the manufacture of tiles and pottery formerly imported from abroad.

"There is satisfaction in knowing," he writes, "that the war created no artificial prosperity in Western Australia, and that its ending serves not to dislocate but to stimulate industry." The people of Western Australia, while recognizing the enormous value of their primary industries, are keenly alive to the importance of laying the foundation of a great manufacturing state whose output in secondary industries will keep pace with its primary production.

It is a principle of governmental administration in Australia that the state should aid and encourage enterprise and development in any direction calculated to promote

the material welfare of the people. This is true of Western Australia.

Among other activities with which the Department of Industries has been associated may be mentioned deep-sea fishing, in connection with which that department (acting with the Repatriation Department) assisted returned soldiers to make a start at Esperance; a scheme for carrying out trawling experiments in the neighborhood of Albany; the manufacture of cardboard from waste paper; the construction of a railway from Lake Clifton to Waroona for the service of new cement works; the manufacture of water-gas direct from coal without going through the coke process; the procuring of tortoise-shell from a species of turtle, known as hawke's bill, which is found on the northwest coast of Western Australia; the "farming" of turtles for consumption—another northwest coast industry, in which, by the way, a number of English investors are interested.

The whaling industry also calls for special mention because, among other reasons, it offers one of the most advantageous and opportune outlets for British maritime and commercial enterprise which has been practically monopolized by the Norwegians hitherto. The facts, briefly, are these: In 1912 three Norwegian companies which had turned their attention to the whale fisheries of Western Australia, having obtained licenses from the Western Australian Government, set up shore stations—one at Frenchman's Bay (Albany), another on the northwest coast, while a third company, which operated on a smaller scale, "fished" about Cape Naturaliste. During the season 1913-16, inclusive, the total output was over 5,000,000 gallons of oil and about 1500 tons of fertilizer, of a total value of £450,000. The licenses of these companies have now expired or been surrendered, but the shore stations and factories remain in charge of caretakers at the places named. The northwestern area is said to be a "hump-back" field solely, but both "hump-backs" and sperm whales are obtainable in the season off Albany.

Western Australia offers immense possibilities for expansion of industry and trade.

THE NEW BOOKS

AMERICAN BIOGRAPHY

Leonard Wood. Conservator of Americanism. By Eric Fisher Wood. George H. Doran Company. 351 pp. Ill.

This is the third biography of General Wood to make its appearance within the past six months. The public interest in the personality of the great American, whose name is frequently mentioned in connection with the Republican nomination for the Presidency, may be in part responsible for the publication of these volumes at this time. Mr. Eric Fisher Wood (who is not a relative of the General) states, however, that the idea of writing a life of Leonard Wood first took shape in his mind as early as 1914, before General Wood had been seriously considered for the Presidency. The author at that time was in the American diplomatic service in Europe, and was impressed by the high regard in which the European official classes seemed to hold General Wood as an administrator. At that time, he says, "they considered Theodore Roosevelt and Leonard Wood the two most notable living Americans." Mr. Wood's book deals with every phase of his hero's career and treats with especial fullness the facts regarding his ancestry, boyhood and youth. The chapters relating to General Wood's administrative record in Cuba and the Philippines are of peculiar interest in connection with the claims now made on his behalf for the Presidential nomination. Joseph Hamblen Sears and William Herbert Hobbs have also written readable sketches of General Wood's life and public services.

George von Lengerke Meyer. By M. A. DeWolfe Howe. Dodd, Mead & Company. 556 pp. Ill.

A decade ago George von L. Meyer had a distinguished part in American public life. He had been Ambassador to Italy and to Russia, had filled the office of Postmaster-General under President Roosevelt, and was Secretary of the Navy in President Taft's Cabinet. He was known as one of our most skilled and successful diplomats, and in the cabinets of two Presidents he won a reputation as an able and efficient administrator. The biography now published is largely based on a diary that he kept during the period of his public life and on important letters never before made public. The record includes personal conversations with the Russian Czar, the German Kaiser, and other leading figures of the time. For many years Mr. Meyer was an intimate friend of Theodore Roosevelt.

Life of Walter Quintin Gresham: 1832-1895. By Matilda Gresham. Chicago: Rand, McNally & Company. Two vols. 875 pp.

An unusual career, even for America, known as the land of eccentricities in public life, is

summed up in these two sizable volumes. Soldier, lawyer, judge, statesman, Walter Q. Gresham seems never to have known an idle moment in the sixty-three years of his life. He had a distinguished record in the Civil War, enlisting as a private, and, after successive promotions for gallantry, receiving his discharge as a Major-General of Volunteers in 1865. After fifteen years of service at the bar and on the bench he was made a member of President Arthur's cabinet, and ten years later, because of disagreement with the Republican party on the tariff question, became a Democrat and was appointed Secretary of State in President Cleveland's second administration. He died in 1895. This biography, written by his widow, throws much light on the politics of the entire period from the middle of the nineteenth century to its closing years.

John Brown, Soldier of Fortune. By Hill Peebles Wilson. Boston: The Cornhill Company. 450 pp. Ill.

The motives and acts of John Brown, the man who in the Civil War era was hailed by millions as a martyr to the cause of anti-slavery, are subjected in this volume to a relentless criticism. In early life the author, who was himself a contemporary of Brown, joined in the chorus of eulogy. It appears that he did not change his favorable opinion of Brown's character until 1898, when on making an investigation of historical data "he found to his surprise and disgust that the history of Brown's career contained nothing to justify the public estimate of him." Although Mr. Wilson makes a skillful and forcible presentation of the documentary evidence that he has adduced, to support his iconoclastic plea, it is not likely that he will make many converts. The prevailing estimate of Brown as a hero has become a part of the national tradition and, whether its basis in fact be sound or not, it cannot easily be overthrown.

John Marshall and the Constitution. By Edward S. Corwin. New Haven: Yale University Press. 242 pp.

Those who wish to have a briefer account of Justice Marshall's career than is to be found in Mr. Beveridge's admirable work will find in this single volume an excellent statement of the salient facts in Marshall's life, together with a good brief discussion of his relation to the great constitutional questions that occupied the attention of the country in his time and for many succeeding years. One chapter is devoted to Jefferson's war on the judiciary and another to the trial of Aaron Burr. This volume appears in the "Chronicles of America" series, to which we have frequently referred in these pages. Paper, printing, and illustration are of the best.

THE WAR AND ITS LESSONS

Some Personal Impressions. By Take Jonescu. Frederick A. Stokes Company. 292 pp.

One will search in vain in English and American books of reference for the name of Take Jonescu. Yet it may be doubted whether any statesman on the Continent of Europe at the outbreak of the Great War was better informed as to the underlying motives and personalities involved in the conflict than the former premier of Rumania. He had been for years in personal touch with every leading statesman and ruler of the Central Powers, and besides was then, and has since remained, in close and intimate relations with the leaders of the Entente. This book gives some of his personal experiences and interviews with European statesmen. It is remarkable for the light that it throws on the machinery that was set in motion in Austria and Germany to bring about war. Always heartily pro-Ally himself, Mr. Jonescu brought his country into the war on the side of the Entente. His book is largely an interpretation of the aims of the most enlightened eastern European statesmanship.

The Inside Story of Austro-German Intrigue. By Joseph Goričar and Lyman Beecher Stowe. Doubleday, Page & Co. 301 pp.

This analysis of the movements and plottings among the European powers that led to the World War is chiefly based on materials from the Austrian official archives. Dr. Goričar was for fourteen years in the Austro-Hungarian consular service, and had every opportunity to learn the plans of those in authority at Vienna. He is himself a Jugo-Slav. Naturally, therefore, he followed with keen interest the series of diplomatic incidents resulting from the annexation of Bosnia and Herzegovina and especially the several attempts on the part of Austria to attack Serbia and thus precipitate a European conflict. As a representative of the Austrian Government in America during 1912 and '13 he was acquainted with the carefully laid plans for the mobilization of 500,000 Austro-Hungarians in this country. When the death of the Archduke in the summer of 1914 was seized upon as a pretext for war, Dr. Goričar was in no way taken by surprise. It was to him only another scene in the rapidly unfolding drama.

The Enemy Within. By Severance Johnson. James A. McCann Company. 297 pp. Ill.

Details of the disgraceful French conspiracy in which Caillaux and Bolo were the chief figures. The facts have figured largely in recent news.

A Year as a Government Agent. By Vira B. Whitehouse. Harper & Brothers. 316 pp. Ill.

During the war Switzerland was known as an international meeting-ground for all kinds of propagandists—not to use a shorter and uglier word. To this center of diplomatic intrigue there was sent an American woman with no other mission than to tell the truth about America, and America's war resources, and to see that the truth was taken up and carried into the enemy's coun-

try. The very simplicity and directness of Mrs. Whitehouse's message at first startled the diplomatic forces gathered at the Swiss capital, and after a time won interest and credence. In this book Mrs. Whitehouse tells how she encountered and overcame obstacles one by one and describes the means that she employed. In the outcome her work proved to be a brilliant success. She managed to send into Germany the facts concerning America's war preparations which the Kaiser's government had hitherto kept from the knowledge of the German people.

A Short History of Belgium. By Leon Van der Essen. Chicago: The University of Chicago Press. 198 pp. Ill.

For the past half-dozen years at least, none of the smaller European states has figured in the pages of contemporary history more conspicuously than Belgium. Yet to most of us the background of this plucky little nation is hardly less obscure than that of Serbia or the Ukraine. For American readers this admirable little book by a Professor of History in the University of Louvain should do much to dissolve the mystery that hangs over Belgium's past. Not content with taking 1830, the date of Belgium's beginnings as an independent kingdom, for a point of departure in telling his story, Dr. Van der Essen goes back to the time of Cæsar who, it will be recalled, declared the Belgians to be "the bravest of all the people of Gaul," and traces the fortunes of the Belgian stock through the Germanic invasions of the fourth and fifth centuries A. D., the long period of feudalism and that of the Communes, the unification of the Belgian principalities under the Dukes of Burgundy, the Spanish domination and the rule of the House of Austria, the French, and the Dutch, down to the successful revolt ninety years ago. It is a fascinating story told by a master of the facts who writes with a fine sense of proportion.

From Upton to the Meuse with the Three Hundred and Seventh. By W. Kerr Rainsford. D. Appleton & Company, 297 pp. Ill.

We are told that when the National Army was organized in the autumn of 1917 the military critics did not place great reliance on the contribution made by New York City—later to be known as the 77th Division. It was doubted whether the famous melting-pot could turn out good fighting material. In this volume Captain Rainsford makes an effective reply to all such critics and doubters. He tells the story of the 307th Regiment, which won for itself unstinted praise in the Oise-Aisne offensive and in the battle of the Meuse-Argonne. This was a sample regiment of the 77th Division, and in writing about it Captain Rainsford not only draws on his personal experience but makes use of the Division's official reports. In the course of his story Captain Rainsford gives an authentic account of Whittlesey's famous battalion, which never would admit that it was "lost," but which was certainly surrounded. Captain Rainsford himself was severely wounded in going to its aid.

A Private in the Guards. By Stephen Graham. Macmillan. 340 pp. Ill.

A book written not chiefly to describe fighting, but rather to interpret soldier life and spirit. The historic "Guard" regiments of the British Army are known to themselves as the "Bill Browns," the "Jocks," the "Taffies," the "Micks," and the "Coalies." American volunteers who enlisted in Great Britain before their own country joined the war against Germany were to be found in the guard regiments in considerable numbers. They made up one-third of the squad in which Mr. Graham trained.

The Dardanelles. By Major-General Sir C. E. Callwell. Houghton Mifflin. 361 pp. Ill.

The mortifying story of England's naval attempt and failure to force the Straits of the Dardanelles without military aid is told in detail in this volume. Major-General Callwell is an experienced veteran as well as author. In the first part of the war he was Director of Military Operations at the British War Office and later was on special service at the Dardanelles and elsewhere. This is the first authoritative account of the Dardanelles expedition and appears in the series of "Campaigns and Their Lessons."

RUSSIA, POLAND, ARMENIA, IRELAND

Open Gates to Russia. By Malcolm W. Davis. Harper & Brothers. 315 pp. Ill.

This book answers many questions of those who find in the day's news increasing grounds for the belief that America cannot long remain indifferent to the opportunities about to be opened by the reconstruction of Russia. During the past few weeks the question of trade relations with Russia has more and more absorbed the attention of the Allied nations. As a compendium of helpful information concerning Russia's immediate and permanent needs, this volume by Mr. Davis has a timely value.

Raymond Robins' Own Story. By William Hard. Harper & Brothers. 248 pp. Ill.

Only a few Americans were privileged to watch from day to day the advance of Bolshevism to absolute power in Russia and to hear at the same time from the lips of the Bolshevist leaders, Lenine and Trotsky, a complete and consistent exposition of the Bolshevist doctrine. One American who did have exactly this experience was Colonel Raymond Robins, whose narrative has been written by William Hard. Colonel Robins, it may be said in passing, was strongly opposed to socialism before he went to Russia, and according to Mr. Hard he "came back from Russia more anti-Socialist than when he went." But at the same time he was convinced that in order to combat Bolshevism successfully, Americans must understand its underlying philosophy. This is the purpose of addresses that Colonel Robins has delivered in this country, and it is the central purpose of this book. The essential truth and fairness of Colonel Robins' observations have been confirmed in a striking way by interviews recently granted by Lenine and Trotsky to a correspondent of the *New York World*.

Poland and the Poles. By A. Bruce Boswell. Dodd, Mead & Company. 313 pp. Ill.

Among the lesser nations now hoping for a new lease of life from the Treaty of Versailles none has had so fascinating or appealing a history as Poland. The persistence of Polish vigor and culture through the centuries is well described by the English writer, Mr. Boswell, who lived for five years among this interesting people. His account is brought well up to date, and includes the story of Poland's bitter experiences in the war and her national aspirations as she looks forward to reinstatement among the European powers.

Armenia and the Armenians. By Kevork Aslan. Macmillan. 138 pp.

In the urgency of the "Armenian question" of to-day we are likely to lose sight of the fact that the Armenian people have a history antedating by several centuries the Christian era itself. In this little volume an Armenian historian gives a concise account of the rise and progress of his people, including the formation of Armenian royalty, the early religious ideas and customs, the conversion to Christianity, the dawn of Armenian literature, and finally the four centuries of bondage to the Turk. Many little-known facts have been gleaned from the somewhat obscure records of this long ill-treated people. It is shown, for example, that the first Armenian newspaper was published at Madras, India, in 1794.

Ireland a Nation. By Robert Lynd. Dodd, Mead & Company. 299 pp.

In this country we have not yet become accustomed to think of the Irish question as a world problem or of Ireland as an independent nation, even in theory. This, however, is the point of view adopted in the present volume by the literary editor of the London *Daily News*. The author, however, is distinctly pro-Ally as well as pro-Irish. Because he is an Irish Nationalist, he is no less a modern Internationalist. His tribute to Irish genius in literature and art is not to be gainsaid, nor would anyone wish to belittle the sacrifices made by Irishmen in the war, whatever opinion may be held as to Ireland's rights of self-determination.

Irish Impressions. By Gilbert K. Chesterton. John Lane Company. 222 pp.

A book addressed to the English public rather than to the American. Mr. Chesterton is fully convinced that "if Ireland is not a nation, there is no such thing as a nation; France is not a nation, England is not a nation; there is no such thing as patriotism on this planet. Any Englishman, of any party, with any proposal, may well clear his mind of cant about that preliminary question."

The Soul of Ireland. By W. J. Lockington. Macmillan. 182 pp.

A Catholic priest's whole-hearted eulogy of the Irish people and of Irish ideals.

ECONOMICS

Foreign Exchange. By A. C. Whitaker. D. Appleton & Company. 646 pp.

Although written by a university professor of economics, this work is not an academic text-book. On the contrary, it has a distinctly practical purpose and will probably be more used by bankers and bank clerks than by students. It may, however, be very well employed in courses of commerce and business administration in university departments. The book has chiefly to do with the methods or proceedings and the forms and documents of foreign-trade settlements, banking and financing. Naturally in a work of this kind special attention is given to the international movement of gold and the measures taken to influence it. Such a work is greatly needed in these days of foreign-trade expansion, and the rapid growth of American banking interests abroad.

Stabilizing the Dollar. By Irving Fisher. Macmillan. 305 pp.

Many of our readers are already familiar with Professor Fisher's plan to stabilize the general price level without fixing individual prices. It has been explained in detail by Professor Fisher himself in the pages of this REVIEW. The present volume gives the complete specifications as thus far worked out. The plan has won the endorsement of eminent economists, business men, bankers and statesmen. It appears that its chief features had been anticipated by various writers, although when Professor Fisher first propounded it he was not aware of this fact. The late Simon Newcomb and Professor Alfred Marshall of England were among these anticipators. The late Alfred Russel Wallace, the naturalist, was the author of a plan radically different from Professor Fisher's, but having the same purpose in view.

The Flow of Value. By Logan Grant McPherson. The Century Company. 473 pp.

A study and analysis of the interrelations of prices, profit, and wages in the light of evolution. Mr. McPherson has great faith in the coordination of human activities as a solvent of economic problems. In this book he tries to show how and why those who produce must consume, that those who consume must produce or live upon the production of others. If we could have effective coordination in production, there would be employment and abundance for everyone. Mr. McPherson began his work in the field of economics by investigating the question of transportation. After many years in active railroad service he became lecturer on transportation at Johns Hopkins University, and in 1910, at the invitation of a committee of railroad presidents, he established the Bureau of Railway Economics, serving as the director of that organization for four years.

A Living Wage. By John A. Ryan. Macmillan. 182 pp.

A revised and abridged edition of a work that has had much influence in bringing about the enactment of minimum-wage laws and the acceptance of the principle that the laborer has a moral claim to at least a decent living wage.

The author is a priest of the Roman Catholic Church and a professor in the Catholic University of America.

Workingmen's Standard of Living in Philadelphia. By William C. Beyer, Rebekah P. Davis, and Myra Thwing. Macmillan. 125 pp.

With the general acceptance of the principle of the living wage, there comes an insistent need of data to illustrate and facilitate its application. In this little book the Bureau of Municipal Research of Philadelphia compiles the result of an intensive study of the household budgets of 260 workingmen's families in that city. With price levels changing as rapidly as they are to-day, it is hard to express a workingman's standard of living in terms of dollars and cents. It is here expressed in terms of actual goods and services. It affords a ready means of finding out what income is necessary at any given time to enable a workingman's family to live in a befitting way.

Democracy Made Safe. By Paul Harris Drake. Boston: The Four Seas Company. 110 pp.

A Socialistic scheme, one of the chief features of which is the abolition of money and every form of medium of exchange as a prerequisite of further social progress.

The Unsolved Riddle of Social Justice. By Stephen Leacock. John Lane Company. 152 pp.

In this little book the Professor of Political Economy at McGill University, Montreal, attempts to estimate what is and what is not possible in social reform. He takes the middle road between socialism and laissez-faire.

The Scientific Spirit and Social Work. By Arthur James Todd. Macmillan. 212 pp.

Undoubtedly many more persons are now actively engaged in social work, so-called, than before the war. There is timeliness in this summary of the principles on which this work must be based if the ranks of social workers are to recruit a real profession in this country. Dr. Todd is Professor of Sociology and director of the training course for social and civic work in the University of Minnesota.

Labor and the Common Welfare. By Samuel Gompers. E. P. Dutton & Company. 306 pp.

A compilation of the addresses and reports made from time to time, and especially during the war, by the President of the American Federation of Labor.

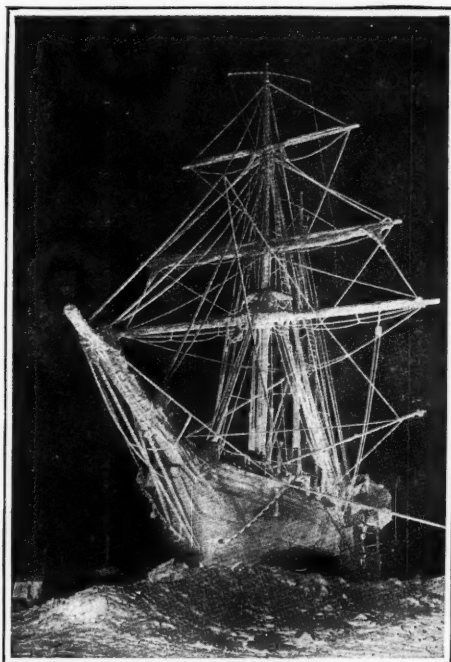
The Labor Market. By Don D. Lescohier. Macmillan. 338 pp.

The purpose of this volume is to show the necessity for a national organization to control the problem of employment. In the course of his discussion the author presents much valuable information concerning conditions of the labor market in this country and offers many suggestions to officials of employment offices, university students and teachers, legislators and the general public.

EXPLORING THE ANTARCTIC

South: the Story of Shackleton's Last Expedition, 1914-1917. By Sir Ernest Shackleton. Macmillan. 380 pp. Ill.

The South Pole has been found, as well as the North, but much remains to be done by way of defining the vast reaches of land that are vaguely known as Antarctica. With hope of crossing this South Polar continent from sea to sea, Sir Ernest Shackleton set out with a well-equipped British expedition in the fall of 1914. He failed in the main object of his quest, but the story of the adventures and sacrifices of this little band of Britisheers struggling in Polar ice for a period of almost two years, and knowing nothing meanwhile of the great human struggle then going on in Europe, was well worth telling, and in this volume of nearly 400 pages it is vividly and yet modestly narrated. One of the incidents was the loss of the expedition's ship, the *Endurance*, which was crushed in the ice. Then came the almost miraculous escape of the party from the ice, the long boat journey, and at last the rescue by one of the various relief expeditions, and the return of the members to South America. The results of the expedition included many scientific observations, which are summarized in an appendix. Of the fifty-six men who went out with Shackleton three died in the Antarctic. Three were killed in battle after joining the British fighting forces on their return to Europe, and five were wounded. Four decorations were won, and several of the men were mentioned in dispatches. The illustrations are from photographs and drawings made by the explorers.



SHACKLETON'S SHIP, THE "ENDURANCE," IN THE LONG ANTARCTIC NIGHT

NATURE AND OUT-DOOR BOOKS

The Adventures of a Nature Guide. By Enos A. Mills. Doubleday, Page & Co. 271 pp. Ill.

Mr. Mills is a "nature guide" who, without carrying a gun, is continually meeting with adventure in the wilds of the Rockies. He is, in fact, developing a new profession—that of nature-guiding, "helping people to become happily acquainted with the life and wonders of wild nature." While the Government is creating national parks and wild-life reservations, why should it not provide a nature guide for each of these parks?

The Glow-Worm and Other Beetles. By J. Henri Fabre. Dodd, Mead & Co. 488 pp.

This is the second volume on beetles in the complete edition of Fabre's entomological works. It is said that this book was written especially for translation into English. It is practically the

last work that Fabre did. Apart from their scientific value, the books of this great Frenchman are written in a style that gives them all a distinctive literary character. Fabre died in 1915 at the age of ninety-two.

The Nursery-Manual. By L. H. Bailey. Macmillan. 456 pp. Ill.

A practical guide to the propagation of plants, written by the veteran horticulturist of Cornell University, Dr. L. H. Bailey. This is a new edition of the author's "Nursery-Book" which now becomes one of the set of single-volume cyclopedias, known as "The Rural Manuals."

A Little Garden the Year Round. By Gardner Teall. E. P. Dutton & Co. 227 pp. Ill.

A book of suggestions for planting and cultivating in all seasons.

